

THE CONFEDERATE ARMY, A REGIMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FORTY-EIGHTH
TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT, 1861-1865

A thesis presented to the Faculty of the U.S. Army
Command and General Staff College in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree

MASTER OF MILITARY ART AND SCIENCE

by

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B.S., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, 1980

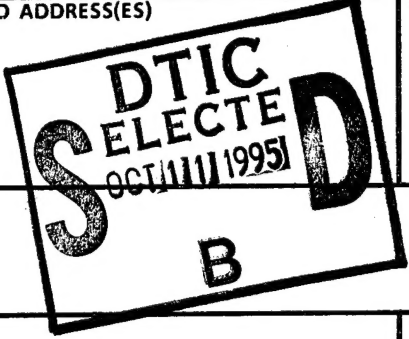
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ABSTRACT

The Confederate Army, a Regiment: AN ANALYSIS OF THE FORTY-EIGHTH TENNESSEE VOLUNTEER INFANTRY REGIMENT, 1861-1865, by Major Gerald A. Kincaid, Jr., USA, 136 pages.

The performance of an army is often evaluated by its achievements as a whole, or by that of its commanders or perhaps even its divisions. Often lost in the equation is the small unit. After the great plans are complete and the logistics preparations are accomplished, it is the collective performance of the small unit that ultimately decides the battle.

This thesis analyses the campaigns, soldiers, organization, equipment, and performance of just one regiment: the 48th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. Material concerning the 48th includes numerous primary sources: the *Official Records*, *Confederate Veteran*, *The Southern Historical Papers*, *Southern Bivouac*, local histories, and the CARL microfiche library of unit histories (Note: the 48th is not included in these unit histories). Other primary references include war diaries of two officers, three enlisted men, and copies of the 48th's Quartermaster records.

This thesis concludes that, while training and equipment of the 48th was sometimes poor, it was effective in numerous engagements, despite its relative small size. The ultimate demise of the unit was due to personnel losses.

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Mr. Tim Anderson of Waynesboro, Tennessee, was instrumental in the quality of the thesis. For years, Mr. Anderson collected references to the 48th Tennessee, and he provided those documents to me at his own expense.

The listing of soldiers developed by the The United Daughters of the Confederacy in Maury and Hickman Counties were instrumental to the development of the personnel database used to support this work.

Jill K. Garrett, her works on Maury County, Tennessee history and the Civil War were absolutely instrumental to the history of the 48th. She provided information that would otherwise been difficult, if not impossible, to obtain.

This project consumed nearly all my free and vacation time during my year at Command and General Staff College. My heartfelt thanks go to my wife, Margaret Kincaid, for her patience, encouragement, and technical support.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Of course the histories are all correct. They tell of great achievements of great men, who wear the laurels of victory; have grand presents given them; . . . when they die, long obituaries are published, telling their many virtues, their distinguished victories, etc., and when they are buried, the whole country goes into mourning and is called on to buy an elegant monument to erect over the remains of so distinguished and brave a general. But in the following pages I propose to tell of the fellows who did the shooting and killing, the fortifying and the ditching, and sweeping of the streets, the drilling, the standing guard, picket and videt [sic] and drew (or were to draw) eleven dollars per month, and rations and also drew the ramrod and tore the cartridge.¹

Sam Watkins author of *Co. Aytch*

This thesis examines the record and highlights the story of the 48th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry Regiment, from its inception in December 1862, to the final surrender at Greensboro, North Carolina, in April 1865. The 48th, unique in the annals of Confederate military history, was broken on the anvil of defeat at Fort Donelson and reforged into two separate effective regiments. These twin regiments then fought in varied locations as two separate yet connected regiments for twenty-seven months. The distinction of being separate organizations enabled the 48th to list battle credits unlike any other regiment during the war. A clear understanding of the history of this regiment lends itself not just to a better understanding the Army of Tennessee, but also to the war in the Western Theater. (See Figure 1 for the 48th's diverse operations.)

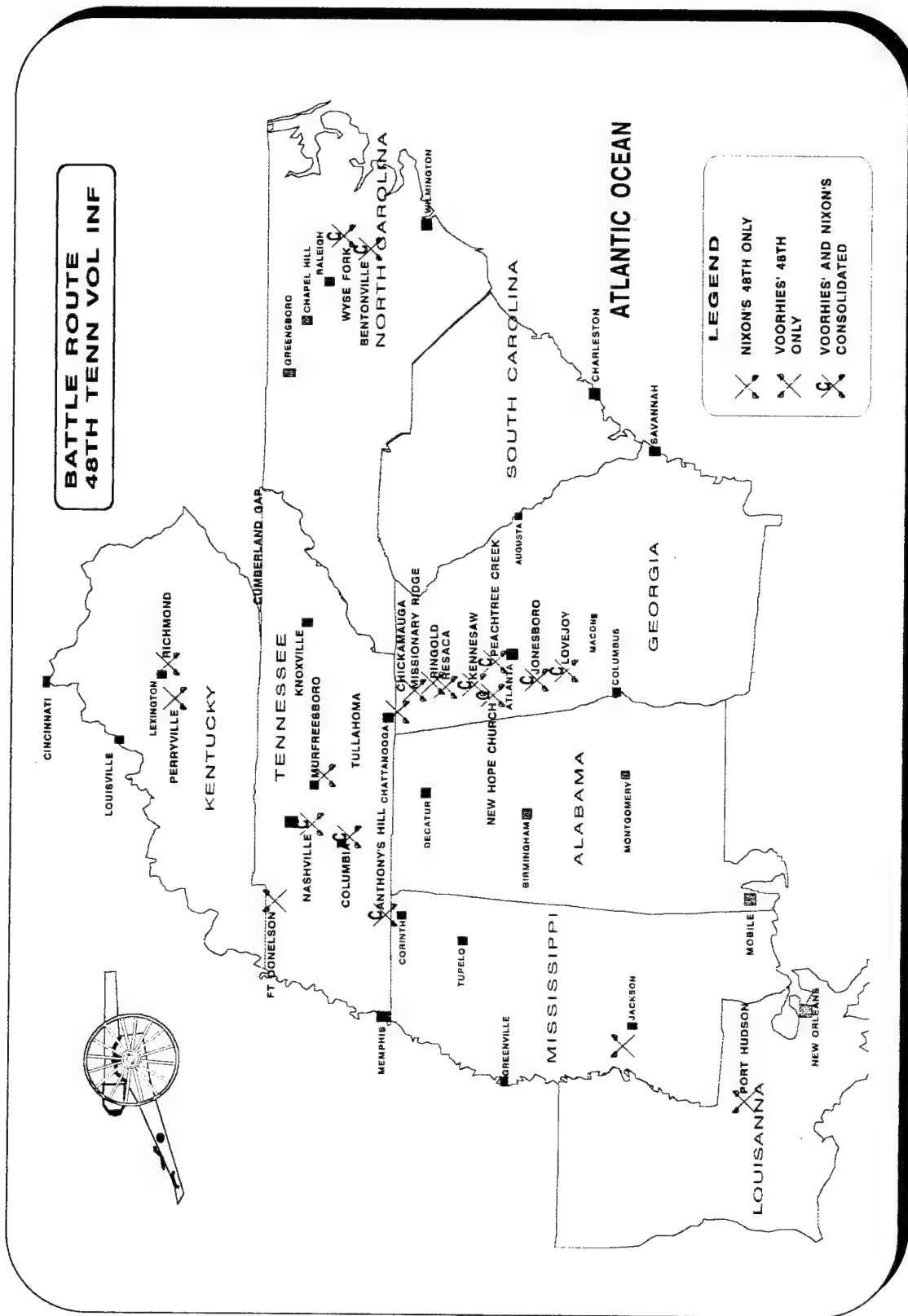


Figure 1. Battle Route, 48th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry

Regiments were the building blocks of Confederate forces in Tennessee. While brigades and divisions were fluid organizations, the regiment usually retained its basic organization until the end of the war. The state of Tennessee raised regiments from the same localities, in compliance with the 1840 militia law.² Soldiers knew each other and they usually had friends and relatives serving with them.

Responding to the call of Governor Isham Harris, Tennessee organized the 48th at Nashville during October and November of 1861. On 17 December 1861, the troops elected William M. Voorhies Colonel and the 48th Infantry became one of 110 regiments raised in the state for the war. The 48th was in many ways a typical Tennessee regiment; quickly recruited, untrained, poorly equipped, and hastily ordered into Confederate service.

The majority of the men who formed the 48th were from the prosperous and very secessionist middle Tennessee counties of Hickman, Maury, Lewis, and Lawrence.³ The State formed these counties in 1817 due to a large migration of settlers of Celtic and English descent from North Carolina.⁴

The raw recruits mustered in at varied locations but most notably in the towns of Columbia, Waynesboro, and Lawrenceburg. A review of diaries, letters, and documents show the soldiers were generally well educated. While a few signed by their mark, military documents that remain indicate most of the rank and file were at least literate and some of them exceptionally so. William Polk, nephew of Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk, served as the regimental adjutant. H. G. Evans dropped out of college to join up. Most of the recruits were farmers, but there were clerks, merchants, blacksmiths, a dentist, a few doctors, and even two ministers. Many of the soldiers had wives and children.⁵

The average age of the regiment was older than one might guess. There were few younger than seventeen and most were in their twenties to early thirties. It was not uncommon for soldiers in their fifties to serve. The oldest known soldier was Private Harrison P. Babbitt, who enlisted at fifty and completed his full-year enlistment. The Army discharged Babbitt, like many of the older soldiers, when his initial enlistment was over. (After the first year many were dismayed that Confederate conscript laws forced them to stay in uniform. Only those soldiers older than thirty-five had the option to re-enlist). Some older soldiers, like Private Fountain Hunt, enlisted at age forty-five and then re-enlisted. Fountain served until the end of the war. The average age of the 48th at the surrender was 25.5.⁶

By the time the 48th was organized, the reality of the war was apparent, and Union troops were encroaching on Tennessee. The 48th's recruits were not the nonchalant lads of early 1861 who rushed off to engage in a short, romantic war. The days of the ninety-day enlistment were over, and the men enlisted in the 48th for at least a year. Those who served in the 48th were true volunteers; the draft would not be an inducement to enlist until April of 1862.⁷

The 48th rarely contained over 500 men, but nearly 1,850 men served in the regiment at one time or another. Less than sixty men who enlisted in 1861 were still fighting with the 48th when the final surrender of the army took place at Greensboro, North Carolina. Despite the regiment's participation in a number of battles, it was disease, desertion, and capture that continually whittled down their numbers. The following chart shows the best information available on how the 1,789 soldiers, known to serve in the 48th, left the unit.

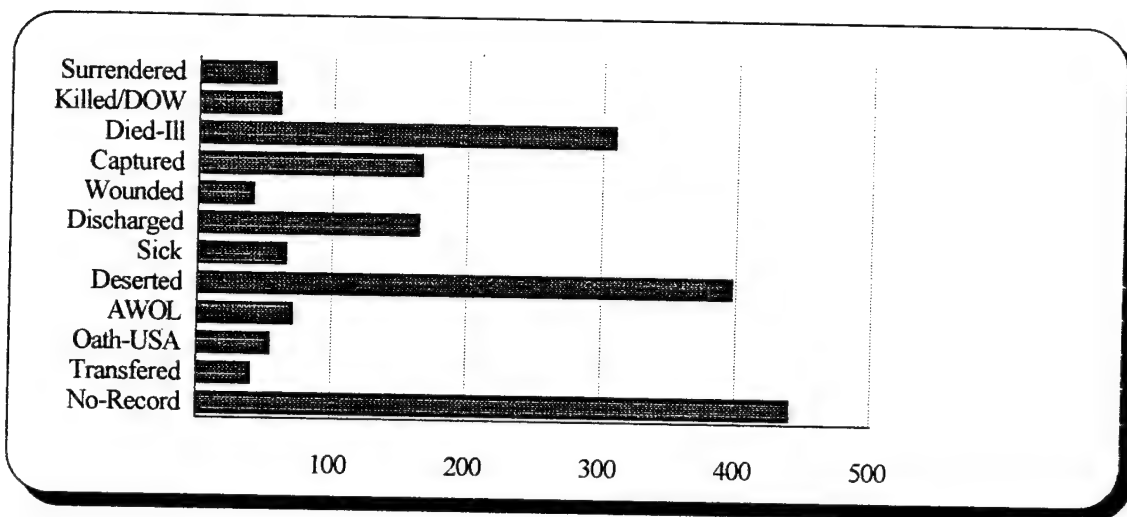


Figure 2. Separation Statistics 48th Tennessee.

Surrendered. Most soldiers surrendered at Greensboro, NC, on 26 Apr 1865, but also surrendered at some other places.

Killed/DOW. Killed outright or died of wounds.

Captured. Indicates soldiers who's military career ended with their capture, not each time a soldier was captured; some soldiers in the 48th were captured as many as three times.

Wounded. Last record for the soldier is wounded.

Sick. Last record of the soldier indicates he was sick and left somewhere or sent home.

Deserted. This figure not firm, many soldiers who left joined other regiments. Desertions were a problem throughout the war but were at their height in November-December 1864 when 17% of the total desertions occurred.

AWOL. = Absent without leave.

Oath-USA. = Soldier took an oath to the U.S. prior to April 65.

No Record. = No record how the soldier's service ended, many simply joined other units or went home.⁹

By 5 February 1862, the 48th was committed to its first engagement at Forts Henry and Donelson. Though they performed well, the battle proved to be a disaster for the 48th. Grant captured approximately 55 percent of the unit, which included Colonel Voorhies.⁹ After Donelson, the 48th troops that escaped capture were reorganized at Corinth, Mississippi, in April 1862. This new 48th regiment elected George M. Nixon colonel and "Nixon's 48th" was added to Brigadier General Patrick Cleburne's Brigade.¹⁰

The capture of the 48th at Fort Donelson and its subsequent reorganization at Corinth created the confusing situation where there

are two separate 48th Tennessee Infantry regiments serving in two different Confederate armies. The two organizations, one Voorhies' 48th and the other Nixon's, remained apart for twenty-seven months until they were consolidated in July 1864.

After a skirmish at Corinth,¹¹ Nixon's 48th participated in Major General Kirby Smith's invasion of Kentucky and fought at Richmond and Perryville. Nixon's regiment was later heavily engaged at Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, and the Atlanta Campaign.

The U.S. Government exchanged Voorhies' regiment in September 1862. After the exchange, the regiment engaged in the campaign to defend the Mississippi River, fighting at Port Hudson, Louisiana, and Jackson, Mississippi. Voorhies' regiment joined with Nixon's at the battle of New Hope Church on 18 July 64, during the Atlanta campaign. The consolidated regiment then played a significant role at the battles of Jonesboro, Nashville, and Bentonville.

The following paragraphs identify some soldiers who are key to the thesis or were significant to the 48th Tennessee.

William Milton Voorhies, Sr. Born in 1815, Voorhies was six feet tall with dark hair and blue eyes. The troops elected Voorhies colonel at the organization of the regiment. His sixteen-year old son served in K Company. The Federals captured Voorhies at Fort Donelson and confined him until the exchange of the 48th in September of 1862. Voorhies received a vote of confidence when the 48th reelected him colonel at the reorganization. By August 1863, his performance warranted his recommendation for brigadier general and brigade command. Unfortunately for Voorhies, Tennessee Governor Harris preferred Colonel William Quarles of the 2nd Tennessee for the command.¹² Voorhies' command of the regiment ended at Nashville on 15 December 1864, where he was wounded and captured.¹³

Colonel George H. Nixon. Born in 1822, Nixon was a Mexican War veteran who commanded the Lawrenceburg Blues at the Battle of Monterey. After the war, he served in the Tennessee General assembly. In 1857 the Federal Government appointed him to head the land office in Nebraska. He resigned when Tennessee seceded and returned to Lawrence County where he accepted a major's commission with the 23rd Tennessee Infantry.¹⁴ He became the regimental commander of the 48th on its reorganization at Corinth after the fight at Fort Donelson. Nixon was an excellent commander and an able administrator. At Chickamauga he was both wounded and cited for bravery. After Chickamauga his regiment was so small that it was consolidated as a battalion with the 35th Tennessee, Nixon then became a supernumerary. He soon returned to Tennessee and raised a cavalry regiment. Colonel Nixon and his cavalry regiment then served with General N. B. Forrest until the end of the war.¹⁵

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Green Evans. Evans was born in 1842 at Columbia Tennessee. He left college to join the 54th Tennessee. (The 54th was consolidated with Nixon's 48th at Corinth.) General Patrick Cleburne called Evans "brave, intelligent and a good disciplinarian."¹⁶ He commanded I Company, a specially selected company of sharpshooters. After Nixon's consolidation with the 35th Tennessee, the 48th's remaining troops were organized into a sharpshooter battalion with Evans in Command. His troops skirmished with Wilder's "Lightning Brigade" at Ooltewah, Tennessee.¹⁷ Nixon's regiment was consolidated again with Voorhies' regiment on 27 May 64. Evans then commanded the regiment at the battle of Lovejoy Station.¹⁸

Major Andrew Jackson Campbell. Campbell was born in Maury County on 14 February 1834, into a well-to-do family. He attended Franklin College and mustered in the 48th as a first lieutenant on 17 November 1861. Campbell was captured at Fort Donelson, imprisoned at Camp Chase and Johnson's Island, and exchanged at Vicksburg. He was

elected major at the reorganization in September 1862. Campbell's diary presents an eloquent portrayal of his war experiences until his death in May 1863.¹⁹

Major Thomas Emmitt Jameson. Born on 5 March 1835, Jameson commanded A company. He was captured at Fort Donelson and held at Johnson's Island until he was exchanged in September of 1862. He was promoted to major on 18 February 1864. Major Jameson was severely wounded at the battle of Nashville and imprisoned again. He was held by the Federals until 24 July 1865.²⁰

Captain Joseph Love. Born in 1835, Love was in Maury County and commanded E Company. He was captured by the Federals at Fort Donelson and imprisoned at Johnson's Island. On 23 March 1863 he wrote a letter to General Cheatham requesting permission to raise a regiment of "colored" troops, which Major General Cheatham endorsed. (Love wrote the letter long before Cleburne's famous initiative to raise black troops).²¹ After Nashville, Love commanded what was left of the 48th in Hood's rear guard and led the survivors on to Bentonville. Joe Love seems to have become the unofficial regimental historian after the war. Several short articles he wrote on the 48th appear in Southern publications.

First Lieutenant James T. Mackey. Mackey was born in Maury County in 1842, he was captured at Fort Donelson and imprisoned at Camp Douglas. George Levy, the author of *To Die in Chicago*, called Mackey one of the best diarists of the war.²² Mackey records the brutality of the prison and mourns the deaths of his comrades. He was exchanged with the rest of the 48th in September 1862 and then stationed at Port Hudson. Allowed to return to occupied Tennessee on leave, he met the same fate as many of his fellow soldiers; the Federals captured him on 23 October 1863 while he was home on furlough. Mackey died a prisoner

at Fort Delaware 18 January 1865 after almost two years in Federal prisons.²³

First Sergeant William Kennedy Estes. Estes was born 22 November 1843, and enlisted at Columbia in November 1861. Estes was not captured at Fort Donelson with Voorhies and became part of Nixon's 48th. Estes was an ever-practical first sergeant who counted bible verses and succinctly recorded the war events in his diary. Shot in the head at Chickamauga, many pages of his pocket diary "are so stained with his life-blood that much cannot now be deciphered."²⁴

First Sergeant Jasper Doggett. Doggett enlisted at Newburg on 29 November 1861 and served in both Nixon's and Voorhies' 48th. His now aged and difficult to read diary covers the entire war period. Doggett surrendered with the remnants of the 48th and the Army in April 1865.²⁵

Quartermaster Sergeant John W. Sparkman. Born 3 February 1835, Sparkman mustered in on 30 November 1861. Though he was often traveling with the supply "trains" and not with the 48th, Sparkman is the only diarist from Nixon's 48th who survived to the surrender.²⁶

Endnotes

¹ Sam R. Watkins, *Co. Aytch: A Side Show of the Big Show* (Wilmington NC: Broadfoot Publishing Company, 1990), 47.

² Thomas Lawrence Connelly, *Army of the Heartland: The Army of Tennessee, 1861-1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 38.

³ William Brice Turner, *History of Maury County Tennessee* (Nashville: The Parthen Press, 1955), 207. Maury County voted 2731 for secession with only 58 against. Bobby Alford, *History of Lawrence County Tennessee* (Locally published, 1992), 68. Alford states Lawrence County voted 94.4% for secession.

⁴ Alford, 21.

⁵ Jill K. Garrett. ed., *Confederate Soldiers and Patriots of Maury County, Tennessee*. (Columbia, TN: Capt. James Madison Sparkman Chapter United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1972). From the listing of Maury County soldiers with marital status shown.

⁶ Roster of the 48th Tennessee Infantry prepared for this thesis from 5 reels of microfilm from the National Archives, all the diaries cited, *The Tennessee Veterans Questionnaires*, *The Civil War in Maury County Tennessee*, *Soldiers and Patriots of Maury County*, *The History of Hickman County Tennessee*, and *The History of Lawrence County Tennessee*, *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, *Goodspeed's History of Tennessee*, *The Official Records* and an unpublished manuscript from the United Daughters of the Confederacy entitled *Confederate Veterans of Hickman County Tennessee and their Families*.

⁷ James C. Neagles, *Confederate Research Sources* (Salt Lake City: Ancestry, 1986) 8.

⁸ Roster of the 48th.

⁹ Stanley F. Horn, Chairman, *Tennesseans in the Civil War* (Nashville: The Civil War Centennial Commission, 1965), 281.

¹⁰ Ibid., 279.

¹¹ Howell and Elizabeth Purdue, *Pat Cleburne: Confederate General* (Hillsboro Tx: Hill College Press, 1973) 123.

¹² National Archives. Military Service Records, Nixon's and Voorhies' 48th Tennessee Regiments, Index M231, rolls 312-316. Voorhies' record in the National Archives.

¹³ Joseph Love, *Military Annals of Tennessee*. ed. by John B. Lindsley (Nashville: J. M. Lindsley & Co, 1886), 549. Joseph Love's small history of the regiment.

¹⁴ Alford, 85.

¹⁵ J. D. Porter, *Confederate Military History*, Vol. III, Tennessee, (Atlanta: 1899), 653.

¹⁶ S. R. Watkins, "The Fightin' Forty-eighth Tennessee," *The Southern Bivouac* (February 1884), 250. Cleburne's order of 15 July 64.

- ¹⁷ *Confederate Military History*, 466.
- ¹⁸ Watkins, 250.
- ¹⁹ Andrew Jackson Campbell, *The Civil War Diary of Andrew Jackson Campbell, 1861-1863*, ed. Jill Garrett Knight, (Columbia Tennessee, N.p., 1965).
- ²⁰ Garrett, 183. Archives.
- ²¹ Archives. Love's letter.
- ²² Author's telephone interview with Levy, November 1994.
- ²³ Frank H. Smith ed., *The Diary of Lieut. James Taswell Mackey*. (Columbia, Tennessee: Maury County Historical Society, 1908)
- ²⁴ Jill K. Garrett, ed., *The Civil War in Maury County Tennessee* (Columbia: Maury County Library, 1966) 1.
- ²⁵ Jasper Doggett Diary. Extract in the Tennessee State Library Archives, Nashville Tennessee and Doggett's service record in the National Archives.
- ²⁶ John W. Sparkman Diary. Extract in the Birmingham Public Library Birmingham, Alabama and Sparkman's service record in the National Archives.

CHAPTER TWO

SOLDIERING IS A NOVELTY

December 12th 1861. The volunteer companies of Captains George W. Gordon, W. M. Voorhies, David F. Sowell and McKinney Dooley, raised in Columbia and vicinity were at the Depot early this morning awaiting the trains from the South which was to bear them to Nashville, where the gallant sons of Tennessee were collecting in response to a recent call of the Governor for 25,000 troops to go into immediate service. The 7 o'clock train from Mount Pleasant brought the company of Captain J. D. Howard and the company of A. J. Campbell raised at Culleoka, a little town in the Tennessee and Atlanta RR. not far from Columbia. The six companies took the cars about ten o'clock for Nashville, & were joined at Carter's Creek by Captain Jameson's company. The train arrived safely at Nashville about 2 o'clock P.M. and the soldiers pitched their tents about 2 1/2 miles from the city. Drew hard bread & bacon, sugar, coffee. Their camp was quite a noisy one that night. Soldiering is novelty. The boys are all of life.¹

Lieutenant James T. Mackey, diary

ORGANIZATION

During the summer and fall of 1861, Tennessee raised troops for the Confederacy much faster than she could either train or equip them. Expectant recruits volunteered from all over the state, but Tennessee had only 8,000 or so obsolete weapons with which to arm them. In December of 1862, Tennessee had 134 regiments on paper--but many of the troops drilled without weapons.² The State of Tennessee organized the 48th Infantry at Camp Maury near Nashville, Tennessee, during October and November of 1861. The unit organization was similar to a United States Volunteer regiment, with ten companies, A through K (except J), as in Figure 3.

Company "A",	soldiers from Maury County
Company "B",	soldiers from Lewis County
Company "C",	soldiers from Maury County
Company "D",	soldiers from Hickman County
Company "E",	soldiers from Maury County
Company "F",	soldiers from Hickman County
Company "G",	soldiers from Maury County
Company "H",	soldiers from Maury County
Company "I",	soldiers from Hickman County
Company "K",	soldiers from Maury County.

Figure 3. Organization of Companies

On 19 January 1862, the troops of the 48th billeted in Bradley's old tobacco factory at Nashville were discouraged. After some two months in service and a muddy three-mile march to Nashville, they were finally issued weapons. Despite the short supply of firearms in the state, the rumor that circulated among the rank and file was that they were to receive deadly new rifled muskets. Instead, Tennessee issued the disappointed soldiers the best weapons she could provide: old flintlocks, smoothbores, and "but few bayonets."³

Lieutenant Mackey of company E recorded in his diary that the guns issued to the 48th were "better suited for squirrel hunting than military purposes . . . [and] all needed repairs." He added that when the rebel soldiers attempted target practice there were some "who could scarcely hold up the heavy pieces rendering it dangerous to stand anywhere but behind them." Another soldier complained the muskets they received "had formerly been flintlock and had been changed to percussion locks, one half of them would not explode a cap."⁴

Thus armed, two companies from the 48th were detailed to guard bridges south of Bowling Green, Kentucky. Company K guarded the Whippoorwill bridge, while Company E was responsible for the Elk Fork bridge.⁵ The other eight companies reported to Clarksville, Tennessee, on 21 January.⁶

It was at Elk Fork bridge the unit was first fired on in anger. Several accounts of that first shot survive and show the incident made quite an impression on the fellows of E Company. On a cold, moonlit, January night, Corporal William Reese Pillow was the sole sentry guarding the bridge. Corporal Pillow, age twenty-nine, walked his beat briskly to ward off the cold. Several inches of snow blanketed the ground, and the only sound heard besides Corporal Pillow's footsteps was water rushing beneath the bridge. The corporal's relief sat close to a warm fire some fifty feet away, while the rest of his Company slumbered peacefully. The stillness was shattered when a shot rang out from the dark. Corporal Pillow was hit and went down. An unknown enemy had fired a buck and ball round at Pillow. One round went through his leg, one through his clothes, and another put a hole through his hat. The Corporal fired back but missed. Without hesitation, Pillow's untrained comrades rushed to his aid, but the enemy had disappeared. Corporal Pillow's father came to the camp and carried young William home.⁷ Corporal Pillow recovered, joined the 9th Cavalry, and survived the war.⁸

The new soldiers were still naive to the gathering maelstrom of death and destruction that would soon severely test them. It was a test many of them would not survive. While still blissfully guarding the bridge, Mackey wrote, "The country here is fine, tobacco is plenty. Ducks and geese abound in great numbers and we have fine sport hunting. We have to do guard duty every night, but have nothing to do during the day. We never drill more than once a week, we accordingly spend our time in hunting or laying about in camp."⁹

Donelson

The 48th's real baptism of fire was at the site of a pivotal defeat for the South, the battle of Forts Henry and Donelson. The great

Civil War historian Bruce Catton explained the importance of the river forts when he said, "Fort Donelson was not only the beginning; it was one of the most decisive engagements of the entire war, and out of it came the slow, inexorable progression that led to Appomattox."¹⁰

On 1 February 1862, eight companies of the 48th were camped at Danville, Tennessee, while companies E and K were still guarding bridges in Kentucky.¹¹ A Union army under General Ulysses S. Grant was making final preparations to move against Confederate Forts Henry and Donelson.

Early on 4 February, Grant kicked off his attack on Henry. He landed troops north of the fort and sent gunboats to test Confederate firepower. The 48th, still at Danville, could hear the steady boom of cannon some twenty-five miles away at Fort Henry on the Tennessee River.¹² Brigadier General Lloyd Tilghman, the commander at Fort Henry, referred to the 48th in his official report. Tilghman stated, "At the time of receiving the first intimation of the approach of the enemy, the 48th and 51st Tennessee Regiments having only just reported, were encamped at Danville and at the mouth of the Sandy and had to be moved from 5-20 miles in order to reach Fort Henry."¹³

It was not until after dark that Colonel Voorhies received an urgent order from Tilghman to "repair to Fort Henry at once."¹⁴ Colonel Voorhies quickly loaded all the men he could on steamboats bound for the fort. The colonel was unable to take the whole regiment. Many of his once eager troops were just too sick to go. Most of the sick had the measles and had to be hospitalized at the Danville Hotel.¹⁵

After a cold, dark, and uncomfortable boat ride, the 48th arrived at Fort Henry just before sunrise on 5 February. The regiment was added to Colonel Heiman's First Brigade and put to work strengthening rifle pits.¹⁶ With the addition of the 48th, Heiman's brigade consisted of the 10th Tennessee, the 27th Alabama, a four gun battery of light artillery, and a company of cavalry.¹⁷ Colonel Heiman

was not impressed with his new regiment and described them and as a "skeleton regiment, not over 400 men, not drilled, badly equipped and indifferently armed."¹⁸

General Tilghman realized he could not hold Fort Henry against an overwhelming Union force, so he decided to save the garrison. He kept enough soldiers at Henry to man the fort's guns and ordered the rest to retreat east to Fort Donelson, twelve miles away.

The troop withdrawal was not quick enough to keep the U.S. Navy from delivering the 48th its first shelling. On the 6th at 11:45 P.M., Union gunboats attacked Henry again. Captain Andrew Jackson Campbell recorded in his diary, "Before we could get out, the enemy's guns opened a heavy fire upon our forces--2300 infantry and 200 cavalry. Our regiment, being in the rear [of the retreating troops] shells fell around us very thick for awhile."¹⁹

The twelve-mile march from Fort Henry to Fort Donelson was difficult and dangerous for the Tennessee troops. Their departure was so sudden that the men lost most of their equipment, including tents, cooking gear, blankets, and clothes.²⁰ During the retreat, Union cavalry pursued them over muddy roads and swollen streams. Two of the 48th's soldiers did not make it, but fell into Federal hands on the road to Donelson. Colonel Heiman reported that he was unable to save his brigade's artillery, but at least one soldier in the 48th thought, "The cannoneers disgracefully abandoned their cannon at the first stream."²¹

The 48th arrived cold, wet, and hungry at Fort Donelson early on the seventh. They borrowed cooking pots and made the best of their bad situation. Heiman's Brigade then "formed the right of General [Gideon J.] Pillow's division."²² Colonel Heiman occupied a "V" shaped hill in the center of the defenses around Fort Donelson. He placed the 48th on his left.²³

During the next week, while the Federals slowly made preparations to attack, the 48th worked constantly to improve their fortifications. Because of the lost camp equipment, Colonel Voorhies allowed some of his soldiers to return home to collect clothing and supplies.²⁴

On 12 February, a Federal division under the command of Union General John A. McClernand moved to the front of the 48th's brigade. Maney's Confederate battery was located in the center of the brigade's line, and to the west of the 48th. At daylight on the thirteenth, Maney's artillery opened up a galling fire on McClernand's troops.²⁵

The 48th was in the defensive line that received the initial (and well known) ground attack against Fort Donelson. By noon on the thirteenth, McClernand became frustrated with the Confederate artillery barrage. He ordered an assault by the 17th, 48th, and 49th Illinois infantry regiments to silence the rebel artillery.²⁶ In the official history of the war General Pillow reported, the 10th Tennessee (on the left), the 48th Tennessee (on the right), and Captain Maney's battery met the attack.²⁷

It was the first action for the three Illinois regiments. The Federals covered the first 200 yards in perfect order. About 50 yards from the Confederate line, the Union troops met with an almost impassable rebel abatis. The terrain began to break up the Federal formations. At fifty paces, Heiman's troops fired, sweeping the advancing Federals with what the Union commander called "a most terrible fire of musketry, grape canister and shell."²⁸ The attacking regiments fragmented and yet continued to advance almost to the rebel earthworks. The attack stalled. The 49th Illinois commander was shot from his horse and Federal casualties mounted. One of the 49th's companies broke and ran, soon followed by the rest of the regiment. The 49th's retreat exposed the right flank of the 17th Illinois to Voorhies' regiment and

Maney's battery. The combined Confederate infantry and artillery fire drove the 17th off as well.²⁹ The Federal commander concluded the works could not be taken without "great destruction and loss of life" and ordered a withdrawal.³⁰

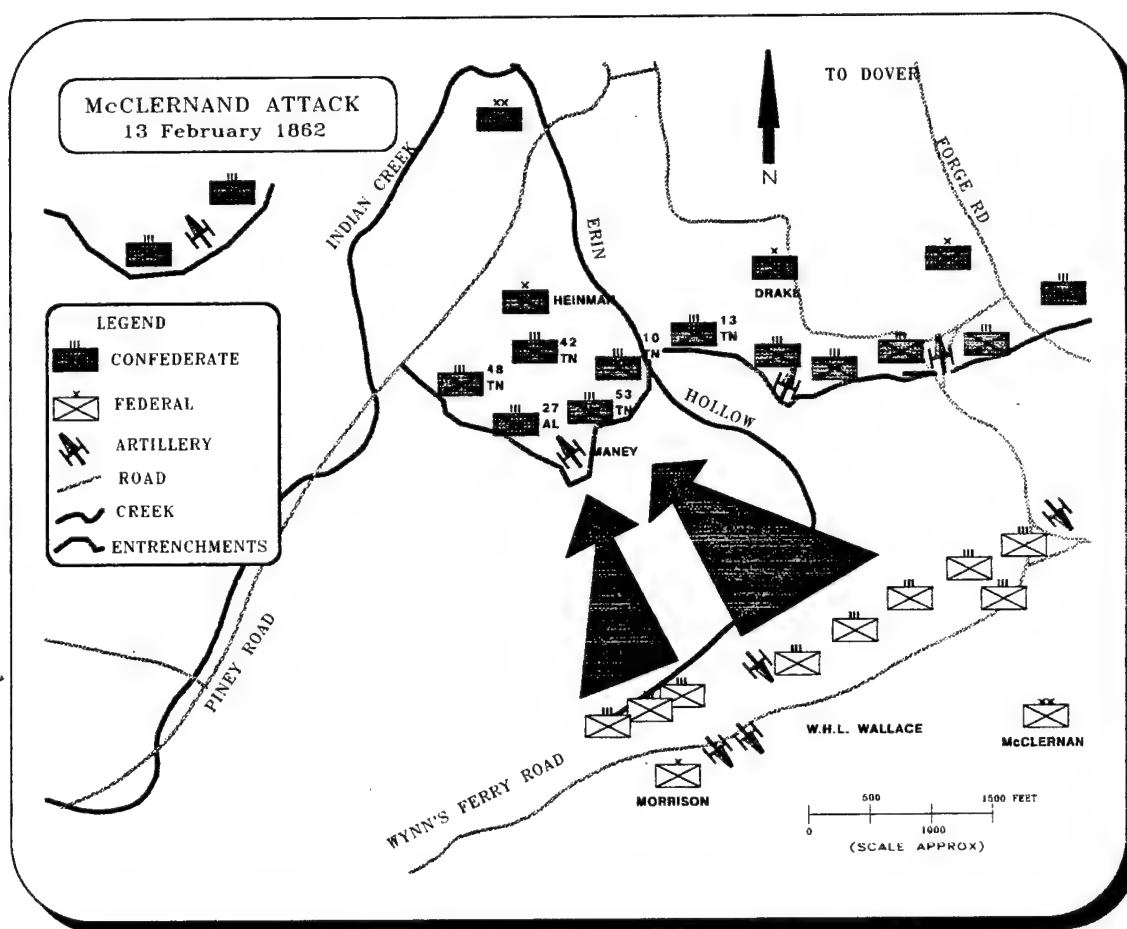


Figure 4. McClernand Attack, 13 February 1862.³¹

The Union lost 147 in the assault.³² Fires, inadvertently started by Confederate artillery, caused some Union wounded to burn to death. Later in the afternoon of the thirteenth, the weather turned from spring-like to bitter cold causing some Union casualties to freeze to death.³³ Confederate casualties, on the other hand, were light and concentrated in Maney's battery.³⁴

Things did not get easier for the 48th. A winter storm blew in at dark, drenching the troops with freezing rain, then snow. The opposing lines were close together and a constant exchange of rifle fire between pickets prevented either side from sleeping.³⁵ Throughout the day of Friday the fourteenth, the 48th received artillery and small arms fire from the enemy. Soldiers were exhausted from the days of digging in, fighting, and bitter cold. Some of the 48th's troops were able to sleep in their fortifications despite artillery shells exploding around them.³⁶ While the 48th weathered the continuous fire, the Confederate generals planned a breakout; however, the 48th was not included in the breakout and remained in its hilltop defensive positions during the initial attempt.³⁷

The generals planned to sacrifice Heiman's brigade by leaving it in its defensive position.³⁸ Early on the 15th, the 48th stood by as the Confederate army launched its attack. The 48th's two absent companies (E and K) arrived from guard duty in Kentucky that morning and joined them in the line.³⁹

At about 10:00 A.M., while the main breakout attack continued, the three Tennessee regiments (3rd, 32nd, and 18th) were ordered to launch a supporting attack against a Union battery located near Wynn's Ferry road.⁴⁰ General Heiman observed the attack and ordered Voorhies' regiment to assist.⁴¹ The attack did not really develop. The lead regiments could not locate the Yankee battery at first, and when they did, they found it heavily supported by Union infantry. The Tennesseans slowed when they received a terrific fire as they moved up.⁴²

Captain Andrew Jackson Campbell of Company E reported the 48th was engaged by heavy cannon and rifle fire.⁴³ Confederate regimental commanders were alarmed that many of the old flintlock muskets used by their troops refused to fire. Instead of attacking, the regiments

pulled back to clean and dry the weapons. As the 48th halted, an over enthusiastic Private Dewitt Winn "charged ahead." Winn was wounded, captured, and later died.⁴⁴ When the Confederates were ready to renew the fight, the Yankees were gone.⁴⁵

At the army level, the Confederate breakout was a surprising success. In the mid-morning General Pillow observed the contest from Heiman's hilltop position and concluded he had won the battle.⁴⁶ Flushed with victory, Pillow ordered his exhausted troops back to their original positions, giving up vital and hard-won ground to the enemy.⁴⁷ By nightfall, the Confederate defenses on the right were breached and the rebels were again surrounded. Faced with exhausted troops, bitter cold weather, and what seemed impassable terrain, the Confederate generals decided to surrender the next day.⁴⁸

The 48th spent another freezing night in the trenches unaware of the surrender plans. Early on the sixteenth, they were ordered to cook three day's rations. By 4:00 P.M., the 48th joined a long column of troops marching to the town of Dover located in the center of Fort Donelson. Despite the piercing cold wind and blowing snow, the soldiers lightened their load by throwing away clothing. The 48th thought they were about to try another break-out.⁴⁹

At Dover, the Tennesseans reacted bitterly when they learned of the surrender. Campbell wrote: "Muskets, pistols and swords were broken up, and thrown into the river and scattered around in confusion by outraged soldiers."⁵⁰ Joe Love stated the 48th surrendered 350 soldiers, but Federal records indicate the number was closer to 270.⁵¹ At least 18 of those escaped from the Federals along the way. (One soldier, Private William Tice, got away as far north as Paducah.)

The Confederate army reported the surrender of eight companies of the 48th Tennessee.⁵² Actually, portions of all ten companies were surrendered (the two absent companies reported Saturday morning), but

only about half the soldiers were captured. Around 225 of the 48th's men either escaped from Donelson, were still sick in the hospital in Danville, or were at home replacing lost supplies.⁵³

Imprisonment

The 48th was one of the first units ever to be incarcerated in hastily prepared Union prison camps. The Federals sent the field grade officers to Fort Warren, Massachusetts, the line officers to Camp Chase Ohio, and the enlisted men to Camp Douglas in Chicago, Illinois. (The officers were later transferred to Johnson's Island on Lake Erie.) The defeated Tennesseans began their trip north shortly after the surrender on the evening of 16 February. Grant's troops herded their prisoners aboard the steamer *Empress*. The steamer departed on the seventeenth and arrived at Cairo, Illinois, that night. The trip up the Mississippi was both uncomfortable and unhealthy. Many of the soldiers crowded aboard the *Empress* were already sick from exposure, poor diet, and frostbite. Sanitary conditions on the vessel were poor. The weather was cold, and the rations consisted of crackers and raw meat. Along the route, Union soldiers gathered to taunt the prisoners. In response, Andrew Campbell reported, "Our men never failed to cheer for Jeff Davis and the Southern Confederacy."⁵⁴ At two points along the river, unknown assailants fired shots at the vessel and several prisoners were wounded.⁵⁵

The *Empress* arrived at St. Louis on 20 February. The Confederates were surprised to find that the citizens of the city demonstrated pro-Southern sympathy by providing gifts of apples, cakes, tobacco, and money. The enlisted men boarded trains for Camp Douglas that evening, while the officers remained aboard other vessels for the next five days. Sympathizers risked insult and arrest to help the prisoners. One woman, who threw apples to the captives, was accosted by

a Union officer who shook his fist in her face. To support her, one of the Confederate officers cut a button off his uniform and tossed it to the woman. When she attempted to retrieve the gift, a Federal guard stepped forward and "thrust his bayonet in front [of her] to push her back." Unimpressed, she simply pushed the bayonet out of the way and retrieved the button.⁵⁶

Historians acknowledge that the prison systems on both sides during the war between the states were poor. The Federal prisons at Camp Chase and Douglas were among the worst. When A. J. Campbell surveyed the filthy, overcrowded conditions at Camp Chase, he thought that he could "with good grace go out and volunteer to be shot."⁵⁷

At Douglas, death stalked the 48th. On 3 March, K. Company lost William Welch and on the ninth a "kind, and most beloved" James Hodges died. The death of Third Sergeant John E. Amis on the twelfth left two small sons fatherless.⁵⁸ On the fourteenth a "fair and honest" James Akin passed away.⁵⁹

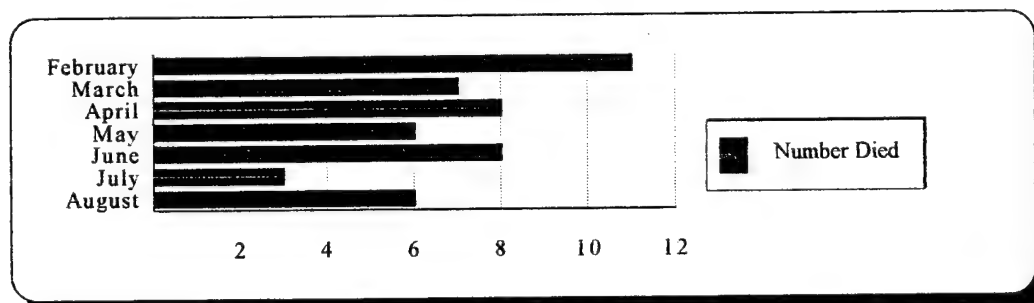


Figure 5. Prisoner Death Rates for the 48th. Note: February's figures include eight soldiers who died at St. Louis. At least forty-five, or seventeen percent of the 270 soldiers known captured at Fort Donelson died while in Federal hands.

As the months of imprisonment worn on, death and sickness became a constant companion. Weekly, soldiers died of pneumonia and consumption. Union guards forced prisoners to stand by while money and personal items were stolen from them. Guards required little

provocation to attack unarmed prisoners. At Camp Douglas, sixteen-year old Wilson Trousdale of Company E was bayoneted in the back by a guard.⁶⁰ Johnson's Island guards routinely shot or shot at prisoners. Captain Campbell writes, "Everytime I see a villainous Yankee it makes my blood boil to think we are to be shot down like dogs without any provocation whatever and no means of redress. One does not know what minute he will be shot down as we frequently have guns leveled and cocked at us."⁶¹

In early May, the officers at Camp Chase were transferred to the infamous Johnson's Island aboard the *Island Queen*.⁶² In June the president of the United States Sanitary Commission urged that Camp Douglas be abandoned and burned due to poor sanitary conditions there.⁶³ Escape attempts were not infrequent. On 23 July, a tall and bearded Allen Adcock from E Company took part in one of Camp Douglas's best known escape attempts.⁶⁴ Adcock and several compatriots planned the escape for weeks. Adcock slept with a homemade ladder hidden in his bunk. The group kept delaying their attempt, hoping Adcock's sick brother Robert would improve enough to go with them. Robert, who was afraid to go to the prison hospital, failed to improve.

Finally, on the dark and rainy night of the twenty-third, the group made a break for the prison fence. Four of Adcock's friends made it over before the guards discovered them and began to fire. Adcock was not one of the lucky ones and quickly had to make his way back into the barracks. Camp Douglas was "in a commotion."⁶⁵ Mackey, who was not with Adcock, wrote "Our Federal excellencies were much alarmed; the cannon fired and general excitement prevailed."⁶⁶ The Federals rushed to the barracks looking for prisoners with muddy shoes to indicate they had participated in the escape. Adcock, however, proved too smart for his jailers. He escaped detection because he had the foresight to wear socks over his shoes during the escape. Adcock's shoes looked as if he had been in his bunk the whole time.⁶⁷

The Rebels did their best to entertain themselves. In the winter there were snowball contests, the "bloody" 48th and the 7th Texas heavily engaged against the 20th Mississippi.⁶⁸ The Tennesseans attended church, wrote letters, read Northern newspapers, annoyed the guards, circulated unending rumor, and listened to antiseccessionist speeches sponsored by their captors.⁶⁹ In the summer, a group of twenty-one prisoners from the 48th pooled their money and had a photo taken. The soldiers in the photo stare seriously, hats cocked to one side or the other. They were young and mostly bearded but some looked too young to shave. They wore various uniforms, kepis, and slouch hats.⁷⁰

By July 1862, rumors that the 48th would be exchanged were prevalent and believed by most. The prisoners believed war news from the South was good and morale in the 48th improved.⁷¹ A small but tough looking Private Joe Rainey let his high morale get him in trouble. When the Illinois Governor paid a visit to Camp Douglas, an impudent Rainey shouted a hurrah for Jeff Davis and The Yankees promptly hauled him off to the guard house.⁷²

Just before their exchange in August, the Federals offered the Confederate prisoners a choice: they could accept exchange or they could take the oath of allegiance. At Camp Douglas, 918 opted to take the oath, among them were seventeen from the 48th.⁷³

In September 1862 the Federal government exchanged the 48th. One Federal Officer thought the exchange was a mistake. Campbell reports the officer said "all the weakly prisoners had died, the cowardly had taken the oath, and the others would make invincible soldiers."

The officers left their prison on 1 September 1862 and were released at Vicksburg on the 16th. On 3 September, jubilant enlisted soldiers left Camp Douglas and were released on the 23rd. They were in the words of Campbell "relieved of the presence of the hated Yankee once

more."⁷⁴ Shortly after the exchange sixty-year old Captain George W. Gordon, the well-loved commander of K Company died. The entire regiment mourned his loss.⁷⁵ After the enlisted were freed on the twenty-fourth, they were able to spend a few days in Vicksburg. The newly freed soldiers poked around Vicksburg and found it, "A nice place with little to eat."⁷⁶

On the twenty-sixth, the troops boarded "the cars" for a forty-five mile train ride to Jackson, Mississippi. There on 29 September, after seven months of captivity, the 48th was reorganized. The troops elected William Voorhies Colonel, Arron S. Goodwin Lieutenant Colonel, and Andrew Jackson Campbell Major.⁷⁷ The reorganization of the 48th created a problem: the Confederate army now had two separate 48th Tennessee Infantry Regiments. One regiment was under Colonel Voorhies serving in Maxey's Brigade, District of Louisiana, Department of Mississippi; the other regiment served under Colonel Nixon in Polk's Brigade, Cleburne's Division, Polk's Corps, Army of Tennessee.⁷⁸

Endnotes

¹ James Taswell Mackey, *Camp Life, Imprisonment, Diary of James Taswell Mackey*, ed. Frank H. Smith, (Columbia Tennessee, N.p., 1908), 1.

² Connelly, 34.

³ Campbell, 9.

⁴ Garrett and Lightfoot, 228.

⁵ Love, 546.

⁶ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 281.

⁷ Mackey, 3.

⁸ Garrett, 278.

⁹ Mackey, 3.

¹⁰ Benjamin Franklin Cooling, *Forts Henry and Donelson, Key to the Confederate Heartland* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987), xiii.

¹¹ OR, VII, 842.

¹² Campbell, 10.

¹³ OR, VII, 136

¹⁴ Campbell, 10.

¹⁵ Ibid., 11.

¹⁶ Cooling, 93.

¹⁷ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, February 1862. (Fort Leavenworth: General Service Schools, 1923), 469.

¹⁸ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 281.

¹⁹ Campbell, 11.

²⁰ Ibid., 15.

²¹ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Heiman's official report, 489. Cambell, 12.

²² Ibid., 1262.

²³ Ibid., 1262.

²⁴ Love, 546.

²⁵ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, McClernand's official report, 865.

²⁶ Cooling, 145.

²⁷ OR, VII, 358-366. Pillow's positioning of the 48th conflicts slightly with Heiman's report used for the map.

²⁸ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Col Morrison, 49th Illinois, official report, 852-853.

²⁹ Hamilton, 105.

³⁰ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Col Haynie, 48th Illinois, official report, 815.

³¹ OR, VII, 367. Cooling, 141. Position of 48th from Heiman's report.

³² Cooling, 145.

³³ Nevin, 82.

³⁴ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Heiman's, official report, 1265.

³⁵ Ibid., 870. Mackey, 15.

³⁶ Campbell, 15.

³⁷ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Heiman's official report, 1266.

³⁸ Cooling, 165.

³⁹ Campbell 16.

⁴⁰ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Col Palmer, Eighteenth Tennessee, official report, 1230.

⁴¹ Ibid., Heiman's official report, 1267.

⁴² Ibid., 1232-1233.

⁴³ Campbell 16.

⁴⁴ Garrett, 367. Winn died of his wounds.

⁴⁵ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Palmer, 1231. Cook, 1236-7.

⁴⁶ Cooling, 175.

⁴⁷ U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Buckner, official report, 1278.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1150-51.

⁴⁹ Campbell, 19.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 19.

⁵¹ Love, *Annals*, 546. National Archives micro films 312-315.

⁵² U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Johnson official report, 1138.

⁵³ Love, 546. U.S. Army, *Fort Henry and Fort Donelson Campaigns*, Pillow's official report, 1156. Roster of the 48th.

⁵⁴ Campbell, 21.

⁵⁵ Campbell, 21-22.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 23.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 25.

⁵⁸ Garrett, 13.

⁵⁹ Mackey, 4-5.

⁶⁰ Trousdale's pension records in the Tennessee Archives.

⁶¹ Campbell, 39, 50.

⁶² Ibid., 35.

⁶³ George Levy, *To Die in Chicago* (Evanston: Evanston Publishing Company, 1994), 59.

⁶⁴ Levy, 72-73.

⁶⁵ Garrett and Lightfoot, 60.

⁶⁶ Mackey, 15.

⁶⁷ Garrett and Lightfoot, 60.

⁶⁸ Mackey, 5.

⁶⁹ Various entries from the Mackey and Campbell dairies.

⁷⁰ *Confederate Veteran*, XXVI, 530.

⁷¹ Mackey, 17.

⁷² Ibid., 13. Discription of Rainey is from his photo.

⁷³ Levy, 81.

⁷⁴ Campbell, 76.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 76, Mackey, 16.

⁷⁶ Mackey, 16.

⁷⁷ Campbell, 78.

⁷⁸ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 279-281.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GLORY AND HONOR OF GENERAL PATRICK R. CLEBURNE

What troops fought under Cleburne and contributed to form the wreath of ivy and laurel that will ever cluster around his name? But what troops first composed his old brigade and did so much to assure the future greatness of their commander? . . . it is the same little Forty-eighth regiment, who were brave and gallant men and whose blood made rich the soil of nearly every battlefield of the war and who contributed so much to the honor and glory and just renown of General Patrick R. Cleburne.¹

S. R. Watkins

Reorganization and Corinth

During February and March of 1862, those soldiers of the 48th, not captured at Donelson trickled into Corinth, Mississippi, to join Johnston's army. There were some, however, who simply went home after the battle, and officers had to be dispatched to retrieve them.² At Corinth the remnants of the 48th were consolidated with the under-strength 54th Tennessee (the 54th did not arrive at Donelson in time to fight in the battle.) Captain David R. Sowell formed the group into a temporary organization referred to as Sowell's Detachment.³

On 5 April 1862, Johnston's army marched north beyond Corinth. The Rebel army was on its way to surprise General Grant at the costly battle of Shiloh only 19 miles away. Sowell's Detachment was not with them; not enough troops were on hand at the time to bring it up to regimental size.

On 9 April, the 48th watched as the Confederates, defeated at Shiloh, returned to Corinth. Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman observed: "More rain and mud. There are soldiers straggling in from the battlefield, they are mostly tired, muddy, hungry, smoked and tired of fighting, not anxious to try it again."⁴

The Confederate army crowded 5,000 soldiers into Corinth. The small town became a hell hole. Death cast its shadow over every soldier. Measles, typhoid, and dysentery ran rampant through the camps. The water supply was contaminated and rations were scarce. The number of sick in the army shot up to 18,000.⁵ The 48th was not spared; by the end of May the troops were dying at the rate of almost one per day.⁶

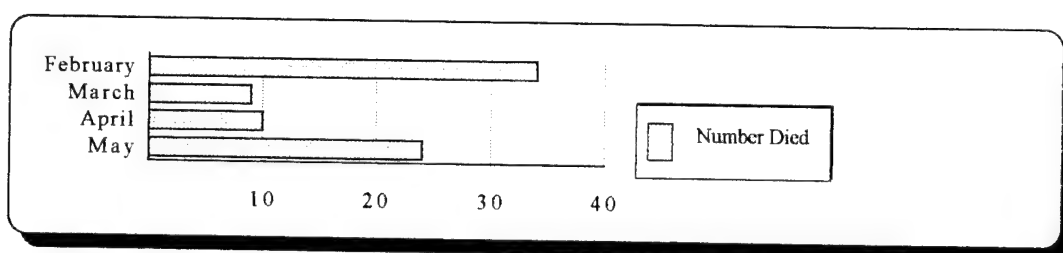


Figure 6. Known Deaths for the 48th Tennessee, February to May 1862. Note: the size of the regiment in May 62 was less than 400.⁷

Brigadier Patrick R. Cleburne's brigade suffered 38 percent casualties at Shiloh and at Corinth he went to work rebuilding his battered brigade. On 7 April, the 48th was assigned to Cleburne's brigade in Major General W. J. Hardee's corps.⁸

The quartermasters now started throwing equipment at the new regiment. Between 10 and 30 April the 48th's requisitions show they received great quantities of knapsacks, haversacks, shoes, uniforms, and mess gear. On 17 April, Colonel Nixon accepted 500 new English Enfield rifles, 315 bayonets, 550 cap boxes, and 50 flintlock muskets.⁹ The Adjutant returned that day from Nashville with new regimental colors.

Cleburne pushed drill and tactics on the new regiment while events moved quickly for them.¹⁰ On the eighteenth, the 350 or so soldiers in the 48th started to dig in.¹¹ By the end of April, the 48th could hear the sound of cannons as a 100,000 man Union army slowly marched toward Corinth.¹²

On 8 May, the 48th reorganized for the duration of the war or two years. The troops elected Major George H. Nixon from the 23rd

Tennessee, as colonel of the new regiment. Thirty-eight year old Thomas R. Hughs was elected lieutenant colonel and Joseph T. Younger as Major. The surgeon was J. F. Scott and William Qualls became the chaplain.¹³

During May 1862, the regiment moved with its brigade to make several sorties against the Federal advance along the Farmington road (north of Corinth).¹⁴ The most significant engagement occurred on the 28th of May at the Shelton House. It was here the 48th lost Lieutenant Ephraim King who served with the 48th's sharpshooter company. General Cleburne called King "one of the most promising young officers in the brigade."¹⁵

Early that morning, Union troops drove off Confederate pickets in the vicinity of Farmington Road and occupied the Shelton house. The Corps Commander, General Hardee, ordered Cleburne to replace the pickets. Cleburne had already launched one regimental assault which was repulsed. He was forming the 48th and 2nd Tennessee for a second attack when Hardee called off the assault.¹⁶ Captain O. T. Plummer of A Company, 48th Tennessee related the incident, saying Hardee told Cleburne, "I did not order you to bring on a general engagement," to which General Cleburne quickly responded, "Did you expect me to send General Pope a flag of truce requesting him to fall back and allow me to extend our picket line to its former position or to drive him back?"¹⁷ Referring to the 48th's performance, General Cleburne reported, "I saw no disposition to falter in these regiments [2nd and 48th Tennessee], though exposed for some time to galling fire of artillery."¹⁸

On 30 May 1862, General Bragg abandoned Corinth to Union forces. The 48th's camp was moved thirty-five miles south to Baldwin, Mississippi. On 10 June they moved another nineteen miles south to two miles west of Tupelo. The new encampment was named Calvert and it was a great improvement over the 48th's camp at Corinth. Sergeant Sparkman noted, "Here is a nice place and not so bad water as where we left."¹⁹

Life eventually settled into a routine and rations improved. One soldier observed there was "preaching, singing, fiddling, dancing and laughing all going on at the same time."²⁰ Friends and family became regular visitors in the camp. Plain speaking First Sergeant Estes noticed provisions were costly and that "rosineers" (roasting ears) were one dollar a dozen.²¹ But the dying continued; in June alone another twelve soldiers died. Two of the dead included Lieutenant Faust of G Company and "Parson" Jewell, a private who served as a minister back in Maury County.²²

On 25 July, the order came to cook two day's rations. The regiment's respite had ended.²³ Cleburne's brigade was moving by rail to Chattanooga to participate in Major General Kirby Smith's invasion of Kentucky. Estes recorded the trip in his diary; "July 26th, 1862. We removed from Tupelo Miss., to Mobile, Ala., 300 miles; from Mobile to Montgomery, Ala., 200 miles; from Montgomery to West Point, Ga., 86 miles; from West Point to Atlanta Ga., 87 miles; from Atlanta to Chattanooga Tenn., 138 miles, 6 days travel."²⁴ The 48th's supply wagons were not on the train. They traveled by road and it would be months before Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman caught up with his regiment.²⁵

The troops didn't linger at Chattanooga. On 6 August, they boarded the train for Knoxville, and on the twelfth they initiated a lightning-fast land march and took Barboursville, Kentucky by surprise on 18 August.²⁶ Cleburne was in command of the 4th Division, while Colonel Benjamin J. Hill commanded Cleburne's Brigade. The regiment left Barboursville on the 21st and pushed on to Richmond, Kentucky. It reached the outskirts of Richmond on the twenty-ninth. At 5 P.M. that day the 48th heard the first cannons go off, signaling the decisive battle of Richmond, Kentucky.

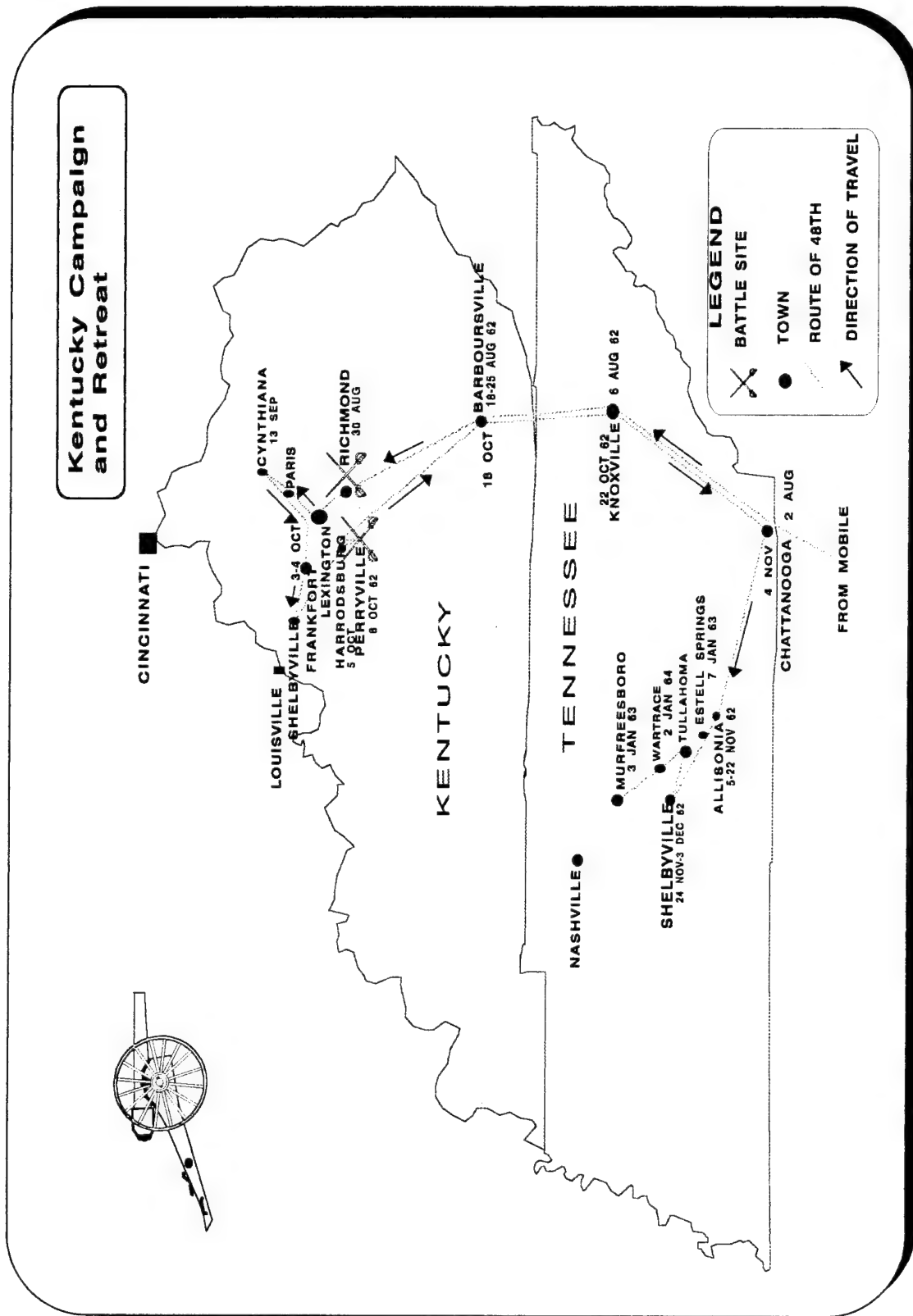


Figure 7. Kentucky Campaign and Retreat

Richmond, Kentucky

Just outside Richmond, Cleburne could hear firing to his front. It made him nervous. He deployed his troops into a battle line as a precaution. Shortly after he completed the deployment, retreating Confederate cavalry came pounding through the 48th's position with Union Colonel Metcalf's cavalry hot on their heels.²⁷ With Metcalf screaming "Charge, shoot down the rebels," the Union troopers closed to within twenty-five yards of the 48th's line. Captain O. T. Plummer of the 48th ordered a volley that crushed the Federal pursuit.²⁹ Private Robert Frierson of E Company wrote, "but one fusillade from the first battalion of the Forty-eighth put in inglorious flight all that we did not unhorse."²⁹ Cleburne reported he had captured 30 prisoners, 100 stand of arms, and several horses, while suffering only one casualty.³⁰ First Sergeant Estes recorded simply, "Had a skirmish."³¹

At daylight the next morning the 48th, with its brigade, marched two miles toward Richmond where the whole division formed into a line of battle.³² Cleburne positioned the troops below the crest of a hill. The 48th's line was left of the Richmond road, with Nixon's being the second regiment to the right of the road. Shortly, Confederate artillery was pushed forward of the infantry and an artillery duel began. For some two hours Union and Confederate batteries blasted away at each other. The 48th began to take casualties, seven being wounded.³³ Private Frierson saw General Kirby Smith and wondered "why would he hold us here where we could not strike a blow and be punished by exploding shell."³⁴ Unknown to Frierson, General Smith was waiting for another brigade to attack the Federal right.

After attending to a threat on his right flank, Cleburne rode to a position behind the 48th and was about to order the brigade commander, Colonel Hill, forward. Then, in the words of young Frierson, Cleburne was "shot square in the mouth."³⁵

The entire division moved forward, as the morning sun began to bake the battlefield. The soldiers in the 48th heard "old" Colonel Hill shout the command "Forward, double quick." The 48th surged down the hill and over a pike. The Federals started to fire canister when they reached the pike. The canister fire was too high to be effective, but to one of the 48's soldiers it sounded like an "immense covey of birds on the wing."³⁶

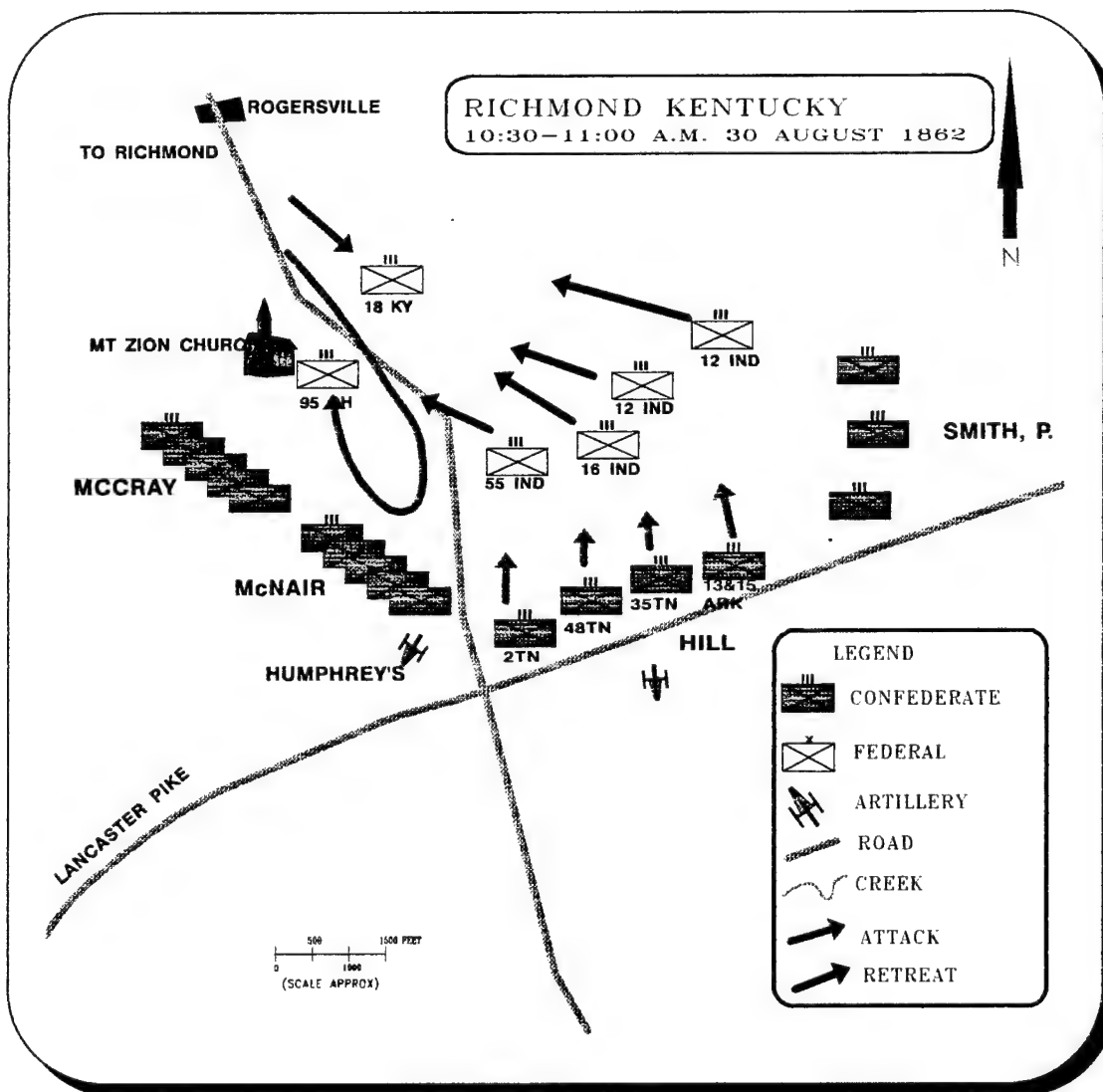


Figure 8. Richmond, Kentucky, 30 August 1864.³⁷

Rebel sharpshooters slowed the Union gun crews. The Northern troops began to brake for the rear.³⁸ One of the Federal commanders reported, "It was impossible, with the troops composing our lines, to stand against the impetuosity of the enemy charge."³⁹ The 48th ran over the confused and retreating 95th Ohio. They captured a large number of fleeing Union soldiers armed with "new Springfield rifles, which were brand new and never been fired."⁴⁰ Colonel Hill said in his official report it was, "In this charge the 48th Tennessee under command of Col. Nixon, captured 165 prisoners, including several commissioned officers of high rank."⁴¹ The Federals were in a rout:

For four miles we gave chase, skirmishing with their rear guard until we reached Zion Church. There they formed for fight, but a determined rush by the old 48th, supported on the left by the 2nd and on the right by the 35th, caused them to leave their position precipitately, and then again we took up the chase.⁴²

The fighting wasn't over. On the outskirts of town the Union soldiers halted for a last stand. The Union line, perhaps appropriately, ran through a cemetery. At about 3 P.M. the pursuing Confederate troops halted. For an hour they rested and reformed their lines, then they attacked. The Union troops were "posted in the woods, behind the fence and tombstones and in the cornfields and the woods."⁴³

The 48th went in at the cemetery. As they cleared the rise the Confederates received the "deadliest fire" of the day. Colonel Nixon was one of the first to go down, struck by a grapeshot in the chest smashing his watch and striking a copy of the New Testament. Nixon staggered backward a few steps, fell forward, then struggled to his knees shouting "Forward Forty-eighth."⁴⁴ Colonel Hill's horse was shot down. Then the colonel was wounded but he continued on, "his loud voice booming like a cannon, ordering the men to charge and bayonet the blue-coated rascals."⁴⁵ The rebel assault pressed on. Frierson could plainly see the Union commanding general "trying to rally his men, but they could not stand our onslaught, and pell mell without alignment, they rushed into the streets of Richmond."⁴⁶

The 48th's casualties were high. The regiment reported 5 killed and 54 wounded out of 312 engaged.⁴⁷ Lieutenant John Hardison was killed, along with Sergeant Whittaker of F Company. Twenty-three year old Corporal Dabney Byrd was also struck down, and Private J. L. Easley quickly died from a chest wound. Private Granville Lee's body was "shot to pieces."⁴⁸ Doctor Boyd cut five and a half ounces of lead out of James J. Jones' shoulder.⁴⁹

Not all the wounded survived, Edward Campbell died the next day and so did Private Issac Burks (Burks' wife later filed a lawsuit against the Confederate Government over his death).⁵⁰ Records in the National Archives show that another four soldiers died of wounds. Still more of the wounded never fully recovered and were discharged.

Perryville

After the battle of Richmond, the 48th marched northward through Lexington and Paris to Cynthiana, Kentucky just thirty-five miles south of the Ohio border. The 48th stayed on for four days. By 3 October they found themselves in Frankfort for the historic inauguration of Confederate Governor Richard Hawes.⁵¹

Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman and the 48th's supply wagons finally caught up with the 48th at Harrodsburg on 6 October. Sparkman hadn't seen the regiment since they boarded trains at Tupelo, Mississippi, a total of "two months and eleven days" by Sparkman's calculation.⁵²

On the seventh of October, the 48th marched from Harrodsburg to Perryville. Its participation in the battle of Perryville is sketchy, but absolutely confirmed by its casualty count. The 48th is not mentioned in the official record nor reported in the prominent Cleburne biographies. Purdue's *Pat Cleburne Confederate General* states that

Cleburne's Brigade consisted of the 13th and 15th Arkansas (Consolidated), the 5th and 2nd Tennessee, and the 5th Confederate. (In the Official Records General Bushrod Johnson says the 5th Confederate was in his brigade). The book, *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, simply states "the 48th was engaged in this battle but no details of its activities were found."⁵³ Additionally, there are no casualty reports available for Cleburne's brigade at Perryville, even though the brigade played a prominent role and its losses were probably high.⁵⁴ The 48th's colors were likely inscribed with "Perryville" and Cleburne acknowledged the 48th's participation in the battle in a written order on 15 July 64.⁵⁵

The battle started at 1:00 P.M. on 8 October. Johnson's brigade led the Confederate attack on the left, against a larger Federal force. Cleburne's brigade was in support, with Liddell's brigade in reserve. The Federals were in a good defensive position on high ground and behind stone fences. The Union position was called "Burnt Barn."⁵⁶ At the barn, Johnson's brigade met with severe repulse. Then it was Cleburne's turn. A participant in the charge wrote,

Picture in your mind, a half mile of open field, fronted by an entrenched enemy behind a breast-high rock wall, supported by double infantry line, and their numerous batteries, their beautiful new flags flying, their bands in full view, playing at their level loudest. . . it was beautiful. It was only a man such as Cleburne who could inspire men to go up against such odds and win.⁵⁷

Colonel Liddell in the supporting brigade witnessed Cleburne's assault. He said, "I saw General Cleburne's brigade carry the 'Burnt Barn' and then hold the place against repeated attacks of fresh troops against them."⁵⁸ At "Burnt Barn" Cleburne was wounded in the ankle and his horse Dixie was killed.⁵⁹

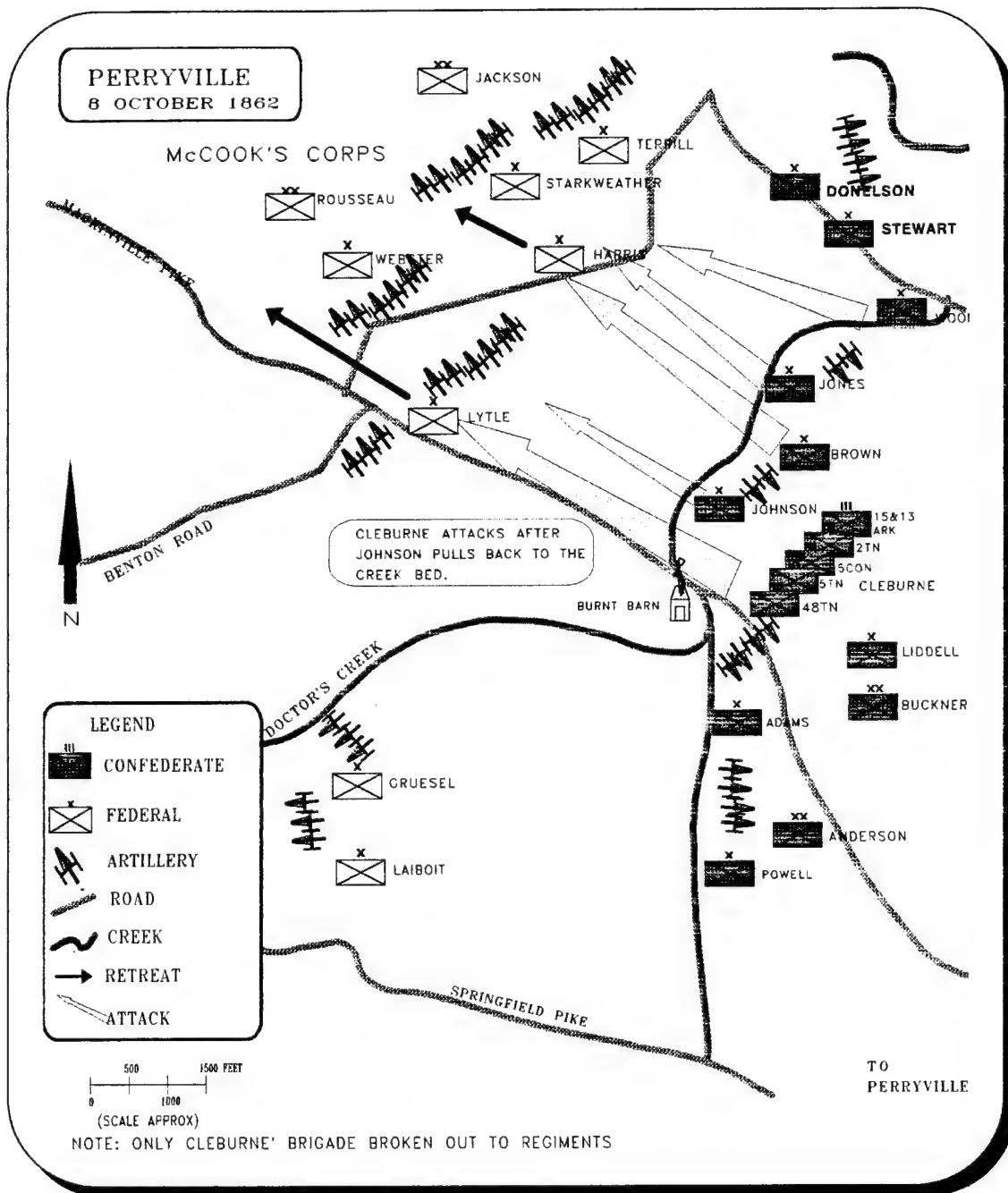


Figure 9. Perryville, 8 October 1862.

Cleburne's troops closed with the Federals and drove them from over the summit of the hill they defended. The brigade pursued the Union troops through a corn field. Then Cleburne's lines became so

confused he ordered a halt. Cleburne dressed his lines under fire and then continued the pursuit.⁶⁰ The advance continued to a place called the White House, where the brigade met additional enemy troops in a strong defensive position. The brigade held its advanced position until after nightfall and the withdrawal of the Union troops in its front.

No doubt the 48th participated in Cleburne's attack. In *The Southern Bivouac*, S. R. Watkins says the 48th was ordered into action at the "burning barn" and that the 48th was with Cleburne when he was wounded and his horse killed.⁶¹ First Sergeant Estes wrote, "had a desperate fight near Perryville, Ky.; run the Yankees off of the battlefield, killing a great many."⁶²

Sparkman, who was still at Harrodsburg, wrote: "There was heavy cannonading near Perryville all day and late P. M. Our regiment was engaged. Colonel Hughes, Captain Plummer, Lieuts. Dunhom, Jackson & Bond, O.S. [Orderly Sergeant] Wm. Johnson - Sergt. Buchanan and several others were wounded 40 or 50 in all, some mortally. Lieut. McCollum and Private Dugger killed."⁶³

The large number of casualties hurt a small regiment like the 48th. Private Alonzo Dugger was shot through the forehead and buried on the battlefield. Five more soldiers died of their wounds. Several of the wounded, including Lieutenant Colonel Hughes, were too badly wounded to move and were left to the enemy at Harrodsburg. Twenty-one year old Sergeant Demosthenes Buchanan would never fight again; Colonel Nixon sent him home disabled.⁶⁴

Even though the Confederates won the day at Perryville the commanding general chose to retreat. Sparkman may have summed up the bewilderment of the rank in file when he wrote on 9 October, "Gen. Smith whipped the enemy today and in the fight yesterday we drove the enemy from the field but we appear to be on the retreat."⁶⁵

The 48th retreated back to the Confederate supply depot at Camp Dick Robinson. To prevent the capture of the supplies there, the Rebels destroyed enough provisions and property to "have made a corner on the pickled pork market on Wall Street, New York."⁶⁶ By 18 October the 48th was in Barboursville and on 22 October back in Knoxville, where they'd started in early August.⁶⁷

At Knoxville, on 28 October 1862, the regiment was paid. The Adjutant Alf Montague was ill, and Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman was drafted to disburse the money. Sparkman did not care for the job much and called it, "The worst Q. M. job that I have got into yet."⁶⁸ The regiment left Knoxville on 6 November for Allisonia to Shelbyville, and then Estell Springs, Tennessee.

Colonel Voorhies of the "old 48th" visited the regiment on 1 December 1862. The Federals had exchanged Colonel Voorhies in September, and he was seeing Colonel Nixon to retrieve his missing soldiers. Sparkman writes on 2 December, "Colonel Voorhies is here trying to get the men of the old 48th that are with us to go with him and those that were taken prisoner at Fort Donelson."⁶⁹

Voorhies offered his former soldiers fifteen days furlough as an incentive to go with him. Sparkman continues, "Most of them want to go. I think the furlough is the greatest inducement as many were opposed to going before they were promised furlough."⁷⁰ On 3 December Sparkman wrote; "Companies A B C and D of out of our Regt. left with Col. Voorhies. Capt Plummer of A Co, Capt Blanton of B Co and Lt York of C did not go with them. E company which is in dispute remained with us. I was very sorry to see those leave that are gone for I had formed some very pleasant acquaintances among them."⁷¹ The remaining companies of Nixon's regiment stayed at Estell Springs until 31 December 1862 and therefore the 48th did not fight in the battle of Murfreesboro. The 48th's next big battle would be Chickamauga.

Chickamauga

The 48th remained in the general vicinity of Estell Springs, Tullahoma, Allisonia, Wartrace, and Shelbyville from early November 1862 to the end of June 1863. During this eight-month respite the regiment seemed to settle down to a routine. Quartermaster records were well maintained and showed the soldiers were well equipped.⁷² The Confederate Government issued the troops nearly everything they required. Completed requisitions show every soldier should have had a rifled musket, cartridge box, canteen, knapsack, and a bayonet. Records indicate the army routinely issued uniforms to the 48th and its soldiers should have been fairly well clothed. Judging by the record, the camp was also well equipped with cooking gear.⁷³

The soldiers used the eight months to conduct drill, perform guard duty, and build fortifications. Letters were numerous and visitors frequent. In February, the regiment was vaccinated against small pox.⁷⁴ In May the whole brigade experienced a religious revival. Estes stated: "many souls have been converted; what a glorious thing in the camp of a soldier."⁷⁵

In June, the Confederate army was maneuvered out of its secure position. The morning of 29 June found the regiment in Tullahoma, preparing to pull out. The Tennessee troops were not happy with the prospect of giving up their native state. That day, Sparkman wrote in his diary, "There will doubtless be many desertions if we go on retreat to Chattanooga. How thoughtless men are to leave the army, it only makes a bad thing worse."⁷⁶

Retreat to Chattanooga they did. The 48th left Tullahoma on the 30th and arrived in Chattanooga on 6 July.⁷⁷ Sparkman's prediction also came true; the retreat from Tullahoma caused the 48th's desertion rate to soar. Six soldiers deserted on the day the regiment left Tullahoma. Another forty-one deserted in July.

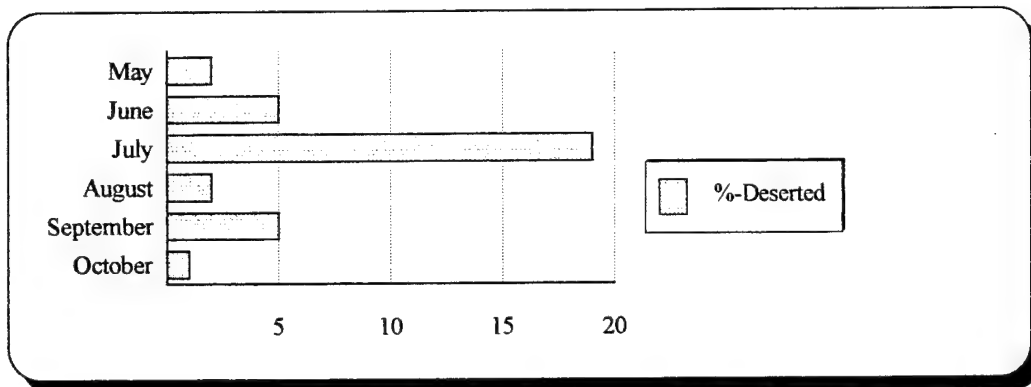


Figure 10. 48th Desertion Rates Summer-Fall 1863. Note: Rates are in percentages due to the great fluctuation of the regiment's strength. The 48th had approximately 228 soldiers on 1 May 63 and only 75-80 after the battle of Chickamauga.

On 10 July, the 48th moved to Tyner's Station; then on 17 August to Graysville, Georgia. On the 21st the regiment went from Graysville to Harrison, Tennessee, on a scouting mission. At Harrison on the 26th, the Federals fired artillery into the 48th's camp, but did no damage. Sparkman said, "They fired some 15 or 20 times, and fired pretty well."⁷⁸ On 28 July, the 48th took part in a skirmish on the Tullahoma Road where Confederate Colonel Starnes of Forrest's Cavalry was killed.⁷⁹

By 28 August, the Federals were pressing the Confederates. Calvert's battery was fired on and several men were wounded. On 1 September, the 48th cooked three days rations and sent their baggage to the rear. Estes, who counted bible verses, reached 23,265.⁸⁰

On the second 48th was left guarding eight miles of the Tennessee River all by itself. For the next few days, the 48th exchanged potshots with the enemy across the river and worried about being cut off from the main army. On the sixth, the 48th was ordered from the river and it was near LaFayette, Georgia, on the tenth. William K. Estes made his last diary entry at Rock Springs Church on the sixteenth. (Estes later died on 21 September from a head wound received on the second day at Chickamauga).⁸¹

On the morning of the first day at Chickamauga, the nineteenth of September, the 48th waited. The regiment was in a line of battle as part of L. E. Polk's brigade. Polk was on the right of Cleburne's division that formed the left of the Army. While the battle raged elsewhere, Cleburne did not get orders to move until 1:00 P.M. The division was directed to move immediately from the left wing to the right wing of the army. The brigade moved down Chickamauga Creek. Polk's brigade sloshed through the icy creek at Thedford's Ford and drew up into a position 300 yards behind Liddell's brigade. Once again Polk's brigade formed the right of Cleburne's division.⁸²

At 4:00 P.M., the 155 soldiers of the 48th were formed in the line of Polk's brigade. To their right was Colonel Hill with the 35th Tennessee. To their left stood the 1st Arkansas, the rest of the brigade, and then most of the Army.⁸³

The enemy was only 600 yards away. The Federals were in a good defensive position and had been successfully holding strong Confederate advances all day. The order for Polk to advance came at sunset; most of the fighting in this attack would be in darkness.

After advancing some 300 yards, Union artillery opened up along the brigade line. A single gun fired directly at the 48th with canister.⁸⁴ When the 48th passed through Liddell's troops, they were given a loud cheer.⁸⁵ The enemy opened up with small arms. Polk's brigade slowed. Confederates up and down the line traded blows with the enemy for about an hour. Cleburne reported, "For half an hour the firing was the heaviest I ever heard."⁸⁶ While Confederate artillery batteries were brought up to blast the Union line at close range, the right of Polk's brigade (the 48th and 35th Tennessee) detected an enemy weakness. Polk's right wheeled left and took the Federal brigades of Scribner and Starkweather in the flank. Soldiers fired at the muzzle flashes of the enemy's guns.⁸⁷ The combination of close Confederate

artillery fire and Polk's flank attack was too much for the Federals.⁹⁸ Soon they were rushing from the field in great confusion. The Northerners attempted to withdraw the gun they'd been firing at the 48th, but it was too late-- the 48th took the weapon from them.⁹⁹

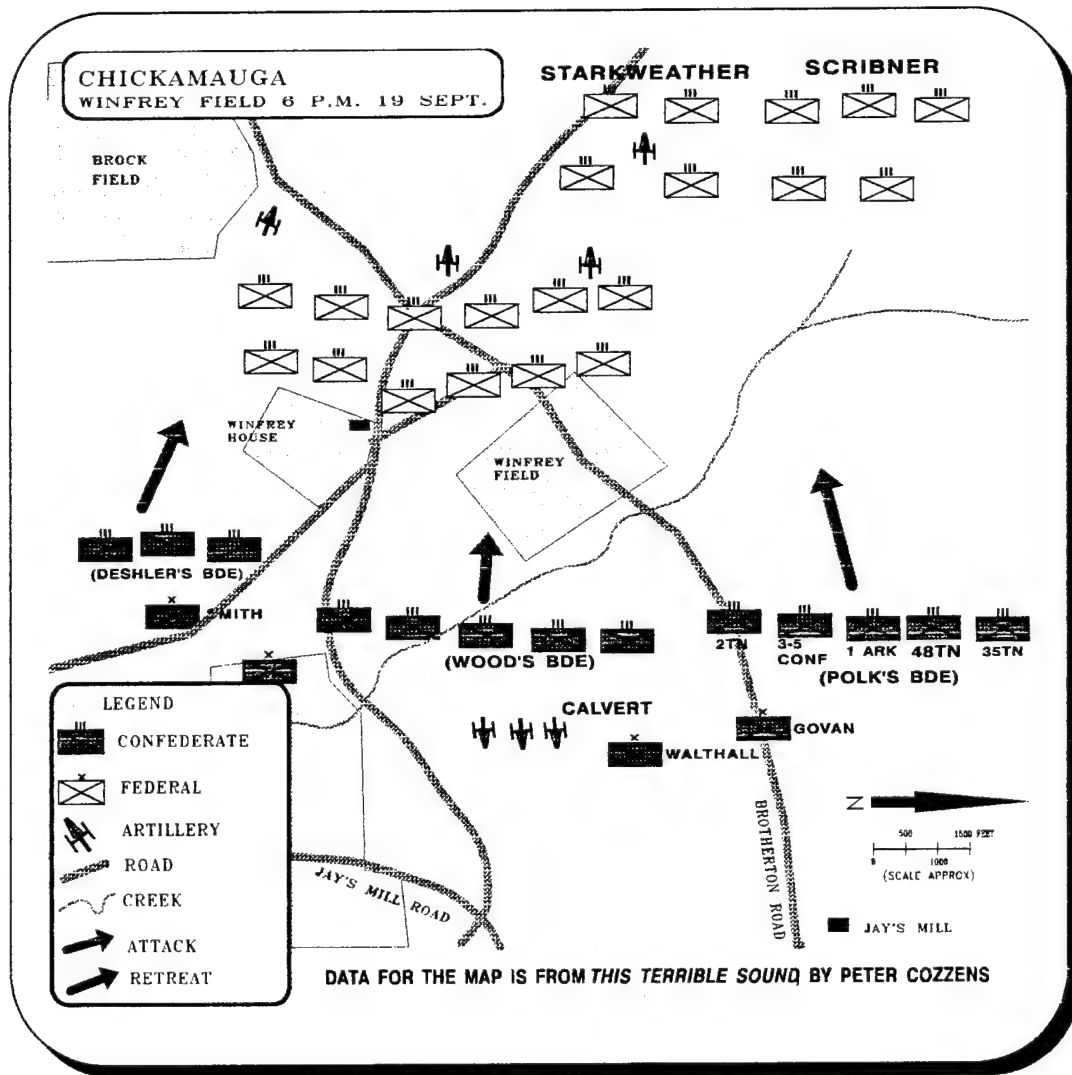


Figure 11. Chickamauga, Winfrey Field 6 P.M., 19 September.

Colonel Nixon described the end of battle: "The enemy being driven back one and a half miles, the command was halted at 9:00 P.M. and rested on the ground the remainder of the night. The soldiers

suffered considerable from cold, their clothes being wet from wading Chickamauga that evening".⁹⁰ Nixon reported light casualties; Lieutenant Colonel Hughs was painfully wounded, Lieutenant Bradley mortally wounded, and three privates were badly wounded.⁹¹

The night of the 19th and the early hours of the 20th the Federals worked feverishly on new defensive positions. The grand plan of the Confederate army for 20 September called for a renewal of the attack at dawn. It did not happen. The orders were absurdly late and the attack was delayed. Every hour of delay gave the Federals invaluable daylight to improve their defense.

Early the next morning, Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman showed up with the 48th's rations. He took the time to walk over the battlefield. In his diary for the 20 September Sparkman wrote;

Was on the road all night and found the regiment at sunup. Quite cool last night and frosty this morning. When we got near the battlefield we met a great many wounded men and some prisoners and learned from them that there was hard fighting yesterday evening. Our Div. was engaged with small loss, they drove the enemy back and this morning were in a line of battle on the battlefield of yesterday and last night. It was expected that the battle would be renewed every moment when I left. I rode over the battlefield and saw friends and foes mingled together all cold in death. The wounded had been carried off to the rear. There were dead horses, guns, knapsacks, blankets, etc. scattered promiscuously over the ground. The trees were scarred by bullets and here and there was a tree cut off by a cannon ball. I think there were about an equal number killed on both sides. How unfeeling a man becomes; although this was the first time I ever saw such a sight my feelings were scarcely moved at all. I saw no one dead I knew and none of them were suffering was the reason in part, I suppose. I returned to camp 20 miles. There was heavy firing again today. The battlefield is on the west of Chickamauga near Alexander's bridge.⁹²

Cleburne was concerned about the delay and reported, "The Yankees were felling trees all night, and consequently now occupy a position too strong to be taken by assault."⁹³ Cleburne's report did not change the plan. The 48th as part of Polk's Brigade in Cleburne's Division was being asked to do the impossible.

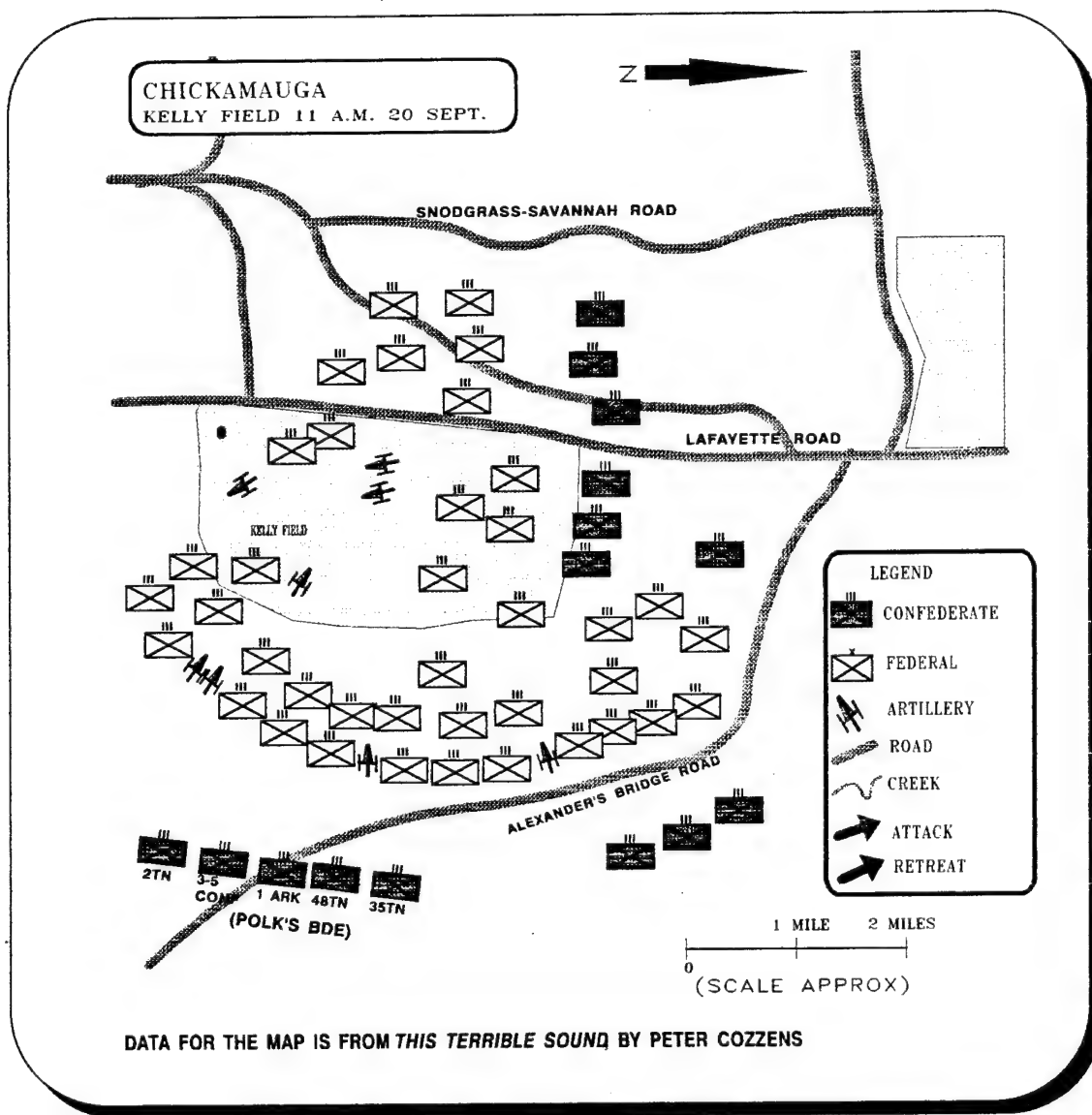


Figure 12. Chickamauga, Kelly Field 11 A.M. 20 September.

The attack started at ten o'clock, four hours late. When the regiment advanced they found the enemy "posted behind breastworks erected of logs, rail picketing, covered with green brush. Nixon called the enemy's position "naturally strong" and "almost impregnable." The Northerners immediately opened up with a wall of small arms and artillery fire.⁹⁴ Cleburne recounted, "... Polk's brigade and the right of Wood's encountered the heaviest artillery fire I have ever

experienced. A hurricane of shot and shell swept the woods from an unseen enemy."⁹⁵ Nixon's official report states that the regiment received "one of the most destructive fires ever witnessed by any troops during the war."⁹⁶

Polk's 1,100 Confederates faced an overwhelming force. Posted behind the breastworks were 4,000 Union troops with 30 pieces of artillery.⁹⁷ Portions of Polk's left were driven back, but the 48th, the 2nd, and the 5th held on. The regiments fought from just 75-125 yards from the Union line. Perfect lanes were ripped through the timber by the enemy artillery, yet the regiment stayed in the position for more than three hours.⁹⁸

Because of accurate Rebel fire, Union soldiers sometimes held the guns above the works and fired them without aiming. Smoke obscured the field; the Rebels fired at dim shapes. Confederate casualties piled up. The ammunition gave out and the cartridge boxes from the dead and wounded were searched for rounds while the fight continued.⁹⁹ Cleburne realized it was a "useless sacrifice of life for Polk to retain his position," and ordered Polk's right to fall back with the rest of his brigade.¹⁰⁰ The 48th lost many of its best men and officers in the three hour engagement.¹⁰¹

Cleburne's Division retired 300-400 yards. During the afternoon of the 20th they made preparations to renew the attack. By 4 P.M. the division, with Polk on the right, was again attacking the same Federal stronghold. Again they were halted. The 35th Tennessee fell back and Calvert's battery was brought up to silence an effective 4th Indiana battery. A Confederate staff officer, Captain W. W. Carnes, from

Lieutenant General Leonidas Polk's headquarters, observed that the firing from the Federal line had lessened. (Leonidas Polk, known as the "the Bishop," was the uncle of L.E. Polk, the 48th's Brigade

Commander). Captain Carnes concluded the Union troops were low on ammunition. He recommended to the Bishop a renewal of the assault. Polk's brigade was chosen to test the theory.

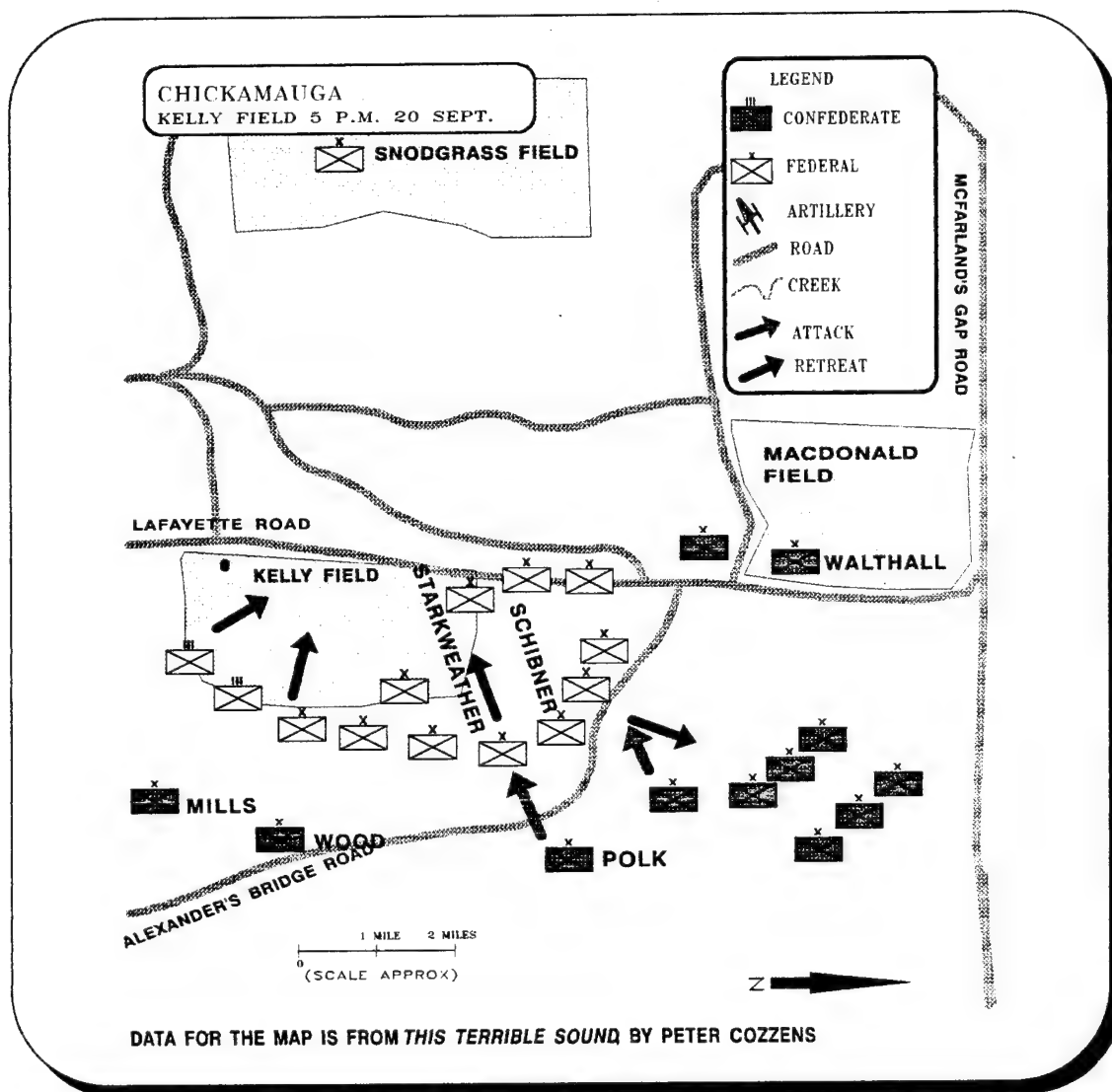


Figure 13. Chickamauga, Kelly Field 5 P.M., 20 September.

Polk attacked at 4:30, just as some of the Union troops were starting to withdraw. While Calvert's battery delivered expert fire on the Union line, Polk's brigade charged. Carnes wrote, "Riding by the

side of General Lucius Polk, I witnessed the splendid charge of the veterans of his brigade up the ridge. I never witnessed a more enthusiastic and intrepid charge.¹⁰² The 48th's commander characterized that evening as "a terrible conflict, with artillery and small arms; a hand to hand fight, lasting more than one and one half hours the streams of smoke and fire from the enemy's guns reaching our lines throwing missiles of death in every direction."¹⁰³

The charge overran the northwestern angle of the Union breastworks. The Federals fell back to a second defensive line, but this line fell as well. The Federals started to collapse. The Confederates began to take prisoners and capture guns. The assault continued and another defensive line was captured. Polk pursued the fleeing Union troops to the LaFayette Road where they captured another gun.¹⁰⁴

On the night of the twentieth, the 48th bivouacked along the roadside where hundreds of Union soldiers lay dead. The exhausted Confederates, "gave little thought to their disgusting surroundings and dropped down to rest in the vacant spaces between their dead enemies without the least compunction"¹⁰⁵ The battle of Chickamauga, was over but the 48th and 35th regiments reported, "a lively skirmish with the enemy on the night of the twenty-fourth running them over a mile."¹⁰⁶

Aftermath

Polk's brigade was well praised after the battle of Chickamauga. The corps commander called the brigade's Sunday evening attack a "brilliant affair."¹⁰⁷ Regarding Polk, Cleburne said, "[due] to the intrepidity of his men and stern determination of purpose of himself and men, I was principally indebted for the success of the charge on Sunday evening which drove the enemy from his breastworks and gave us the battle."¹⁰⁸

Colonel Nixon is mentioned in Polk's official report for distinguished gallantry. Nixon and another eighteen of the 48th's soldiers are listed on the "Roll of Honor" for Chickamauga. Roll of Honor and subsequent service of the soldier is shown below:

COL George Nixon. Served to the end of the War.
LTC Thomas R. Hughes Wounded at Chickamauga. Left with Nixon.
CPT Lewis Miller, Co G. Left the 48th with Nixon
CPT James Cooper, Co E. Wounded at Lovejoy Station
1LT G. B. Tracy, Co K. Served to the end of the War
1LT James Jackson, Co F. Badly wounded Resaca.
2LT G. W. Prior, Co G. Joined Nixon's Cavalry.
PVT B. F. Martin, Co E. Discharged for wounds at Chickamauga.
PVT William McClain Co E. Deserted 14 Jan 64
SGT B. F. Whittaker, Co F. Deserted 1 Jan 64
SGT C. P. Acklin, Co F. Died 14 Aug 64.
PVT J. M. Harding, Co G. Captured 25 Nov 63, released 24 May 65
PVT M. D. Harwell, Co G. Deserted 28 Nov 63, joined 11th Cavalry.
PVT H. B. West, Co H. Wounded Resaca. Captured at Nashville
PVT A. A. Pennington, Co H. Deserted at Nashville
SGT W. L. Ivy, Co I. Captured at Nashville.
PVT J. R. Choat, Co I. Wounded at Chickamauga, ended service.
PVT J. G. Fuller, Co K. Deserted after Nashville.
PVT A. J. Williams, Co K. Wounded at Chickamauga, ended service.

Figure 14. "Roll of Honor" from Chickamauga.

Despite the victory, Nixon's 48th never recovered from the battle at Chickamauga. Without the four companies of Voorhies' 48th, Nixon's regiment was already small, about 230 soldiers. With the high desertion rate during the Tullahoma retreat (Figure 10.) the regiment took only 155 soldiers into the battle. Nixon reported five casualties on 19 September and another 73 killed or wounded the next day. F Company alone lost 17 of the 31 engaged.¹⁰⁹ The 48th's overall casualty rate exceeded 50 percent, to make its casualty rate one of the highest in the battle. Sparkman wrote, "As usual we lost some of our best men killed and wounded."¹¹⁰

The 48th's wounded were sent to hospitals in Atlanta; a few were able to go home, and some others were discharged.¹¹¹ While certainly many of the wounded recovered and returned, Nixon's 48th was finished as a separate fighting regiment.

After Chickamauga the 48th was attached to Colonel Hill's 35th Tennessee. Colonel Nixon became a supernumerary and returned to Tennessee to raise another regiment. The remaining 48th troops kept their regimental identity but were formed into a sharpshooter battalion with Captain Henry G. Evans in command.

On 3 October, the 48th and 35th were in Georgetown, Tennessee to "gather up commissaries."¹¹² The two regiments together reported only 400 soldiers on the 22nd. In November, the 48th's desertions shot up because the 48th's men were disenchanted with soldiering in the 35th. Fifteen soldiers left on 24 November. Sparkman disclosed, "Our men have been dissatisfied ever since they were put under Col. Hill and they are now deserting every day."¹¹³

The 35/48th left Georgetown and arrived in Tunnel Hill, Georgia on 1 December 63. By March third, the 48th had just ninety officers and men. The combined 35/48th was at Dalton, Georgia, on 26 February 1864. On April 30th the 48th was detached from the 35th but remained in Polk's brigade of Cleburne's division. The remnants of the regiment were still commanded by Captain Evans.

The 48th continued to fight as a sharpshooter battalion in Polk's Brigade during the Atlanta campaign. On 16 May the battalion was engaged at Resaca. Lieutenants Sheppard and Jackson were seriously wounded and three of the 48th's privates were killed.¹¹⁴ Regiment's numbers were further diminished about a month later. On 27 June, at the battle of Kennesaw Mountain, Privates James Hill and Stephen Box were killed. Captain Cooper, who made the Roll of Honor at Chickamauga, was

severely wounded.¹¹⁵ In addition to their own casualties, the 48th's brigade commander, Lucius Polk, lost his leg.¹¹⁶

General Polk would not fight again and his brigade was disbanded on 15 July 1864. The few hard men left in Nixon's 48th were transferred to Voorhies' 48th.¹¹⁷ Below is Cleburne's tribute and farewell order to Nixon's 48th:

{Special Order}

Headquarters Cleburne's Division,
In the field, July 15 1864.

I. By direction of General Johnston, the Forty-eighth Tennessee Regiment is relieved from duty in this division, and will report to Brigadier-General Quarles, for incorporation with Colonel Voorhies' Forty-eighth Tennessee. In severing his connection with this small, but noble remnant of this regiment, justice as well as feeling, prompts General Cleburne to express his admiration of the gallant and soldierly conduct its members have ever manifested while under his command. Richmond, Ky., Perryville, Murfreesboro, Chickamauga, Ringgold, Ga, have been inscribed on its colors, and the names of victories of the present trying campaign may justly be placed there. As a battalion of sharpshooters its courage, skill and endurance have been tested and proven in innumerable bloody skirmishes. The handful to which it has been reduced attest [*sic*] how conspicuous a part it must have borne in building up the glorious reputation of the brigade and division which it is about to be separated from. Gen. Cleburne bids you a soldier's farewell, and trusts he may deserve and retain through life the good will and kind feelings which he bears to each surviving member of the Forty-eighth Tennessee.

By Command of Major-General Cleburne.

J. A. Buck, A. A. General¹¹⁸

(Note the 48th was not in the battle of Murfreesboro)

Endnotes

- ¹ S. R. Watkins, "The Fighting Forty-eighth Tennessee Regiment," *The Southern Bivouac* (February 1884): 247.
- ² Sparkman, 7.
- ³ Archives.
- ⁴ Sparkman, 11.
- ⁵ Stanley F. Horn, *The Army of Tennessee* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 148-149.
- ⁶ Roster of the 48th, shows the names of 27 soldiers who died at either Corinth or the hospital at Guntown Mississippi between 24 April and 28 May 62.
- ⁷ Ibid.
- ⁸ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 279.
- ⁹ Quartermaster records dated in April 62.
- ¹⁰ Purdue, 118-120.
- ¹¹ Sparkman, 12. *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 279.
- ¹² David Nevin, *The Road to Shiloh*, Time Life Books, Alexandria Virginia, 1983, 157. Sparkman, 10-12.
- ¹³ Sparkman, 13. Love, 549
- ¹⁴ Purdue, 122-123.
- ¹⁵ Purdue, 127. The officer's name is not listed in the source. The Archives show King is the only officer listed as killed at Corinth.
- ¹⁶ Purdue, Cleburne's report, 126.
- ¹⁷ Plummer address.
- ¹⁸ Purdue, 126. Cleburne's report.
- ¹⁹ Sparkman, 15.
- ²⁰ Sparkman, 17.
- ²¹ Garrett, 1.
- ²² Sparkman, 16. and Roster of the 48th.
- ²³ Sparkman, 19.
- ²⁴ Garrett, 2.
- ²⁵ Sparkman, 29. Sparkman caught up with the regiment on the 6th of October at Harrodsburg.

- ²⁶ Garrett, 3.
- ²⁷ Plummer address. According to Plummer, Metcalf lost his commission after Richmond.
- ²⁸ OR, XVI, Pt. 1, 948. Colonel Hills Report.
- ²⁹ Robert M. Frierson, *Gen. E. Kirby -Smith's Campaign in Kentucky, Confederate Veteran Vol. I*, 295.
- ³⁰ OR, XVI, Pt. 1, 944.
- ³¹ Garrett, 3.
- ³² Frierson, 295.
- ³³ OR, XVI, Pt. 1, 949. Colonel Hills Report.
- ³⁴ Frierson, 295.
- ³⁵ Purdue, 137, Frierson, 295.
- ³⁶ Frierson, 295.
- ³⁷ No maps of the battle exist. Thesis map is from sketch provided by Warren D. Lambert, Ph.D., of Berera, Kentucky and the thesis author's interpretation of the OR. DR Lambert is writing a book on the battle.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 295
- ³⁹ Purdue, 138.
- ⁴⁰ Watkins, 247.
- ⁴¹ Hill's official report in the OR XVI, PT 1, 929.
- ⁴² Frierson, 295.
- ⁴³ OR, XVI, PT 1, 951.
- ⁴⁴ Frierson, 295.
- ⁴⁵ Watkins, 248.
- ⁴⁶ Frierson. 295.
- ⁴⁷ OR, 949.
- ⁴⁸ Roster of the 48th.
- ⁴⁹ *Confederate Veteran*.
- ⁵⁰ Burk's lawsuit available in the Archives.
- ⁵¹ Estes, 2 Oct. entry.
- ⁵² Sparkman, 29.
- ⁵³ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*. 280.

⁵⁴ Capt Irving A. Buck, *Cleburne and His Command*, (Dayton: Morningside Bookshop 1985), 114.

⁵⁵ Watkins, 250. Kenneth A. Hafendorfer author of *Perryville: Battle for Kentucky* (Louisville: K H Press, 1991) does show the 48th in the order of battle.

⁵⁶ *Liddell's Record*, 90.

⁵⁷ Purdue, 148.

⁵⁸ Liddell 90.

⁵⁹ Purdue, 149.

⁶⁰ Buck, 113.

⁶¹ Watkins, 249.

⁶² Estes, 4.

⁶³ Sparkman, 29.

⁶⁴ Roster of the 48th.

⁶⁵ Sparkman, 29.

⁶⁶ Watkins, 249.

⁶⁷ Estes, see dates mentioned.

⁶⁸ Sparkman, 31.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 34. Tennesseans in the Civil War.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁷² Copies of QM records in possession of the author

⁷³ OM records.

⁷⁴ Estes, 19 February 1863.

⁷⁵ Estes, entries over the time period.

⁷⁶ Sparkman, 46.

⁷⁷ Estes, entries over the time period.

⁷⁸ Both Sparkman and Estes mention the shelling.

⁷⁹ Watkins, 249. OR, XXIX, 432 and 430.

⁸⁰ Estes, 30 September.

⁸¹ Estes and Sparkman.

⁸² OR, XXX, Part II, 176.

- ⁸³ Ibid., 185.
- ⁸⁴ Ibid., 185.
- ⁸⁵ Peter Cozzens, *This Terrible Sound* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 266.
- ⁸⁶ OR, XXX, Part II, 154.
- ⁸⁷ Ibid., 154.
- ⁸⁸ Polk, 176.
- ⁸⁹ OR, XXX, Part II, 185.
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., 185.
- ⁹¹ Ibid., 185.
- ⁹² Sparkman, 50.
- ⁹³ Purdue, 221.
- ⁹⁴ OR, XXX, Part II, 185.
- ⁹⁵ Cleburne 154
- ⁹⁶ OR, XXX, Part II, 185.
- ⁹⁷ Cozzens, 340.
- ⁹⁸ OR, XXX, Part II, 185.
- ⁹⁹ Edwin Drake ed., *The Annals of the Army of Tennessee and early Western History* (Nashville: A. D. Haynes, 1878), 57.
- ¹⁰⁰ Purdue, 223.
- ¹⁰¹ Nixon, 186
- ¹⁰² Cozzens, 499.
- ¹⁰³ OR, XXX, Part II, 186.
- ¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 156.
- ¹⁰⁵ Drake, 61.
- ¹⁰⁶ Purdue, 237.
- ¹⁰⁷ OR, XXX, Part II, 145. D. H. Hill's report.
- ¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 156.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 280
- ¹¹⁰ Sparkman, 50.
- ¹¹¹ Roster of the 48th.

¹¹² Sparkman 52.

¹¹³ Ibid., 55.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 66.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 71. Roster of the 48th.

¹¹⁶ Albert Castel, *Decision in the West, The Atlanta Campaign of 1864*, (University of Kansas Press, 1992), 281.

¹¹⁷ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 280.

¹¹⁸ Purdue, 338. Watkins, 250.

CHAPTER FOUR

ON EQUAL FOOTING WITH THE HESSIANS--VOOHRIES 48TH

16 September 1862. Seven months ago this morning since we were surrendered and we are now lying anchor just above Vicksburg waiting the slow process of the military authorities. We arrived here just at dark last night. Nine of our number have been buried on the banks of the river between here and Cairo, just wrapped in a blanket and covered in the sand. Shipped aboard the *Paul Jones* and breathe the free air of Dixie once more. What a joy to be relieved of the hated presence of the Yankee once more. Now I can meet the Hessians on an equal footing.

Andrew Jackson Campbell, diary

Voohries Reorganization-Port Hudson

Seven months of harsh confinement made the veterans of Fort Donelson bitter enemies of the Union. Of the estimated 270 soldiers of the 48th captured at Fort Donelson, at least 54 died. In a letter to Tennessee Governor Harris, Colonel Voorhies wrote that in ". . . Northern Prisons all suffered much, and many died for want of proper treatment and attention from the enemy."¹ Voorhies' survivors of Donelson became determined rebel soldiers. More of them fought to the bitter end than the regiment as a whole. At the final surrender these former Union prisoners made up 37 percent of those surrendered even though their numbers accounted for only 12 percent of the total soldiers who served in the 48th.²

After its exchange the regiment's immediate task was getting ready for combat. At Vicksburg, Voorhies' recently released soldiers were granted only a few days to explore the city. The Confederacy would grant them no further relaxation and despite their long confinement the troops were denied furloughs. On 26 September the 48th boarded rail cars for Jackson, Mississippi.

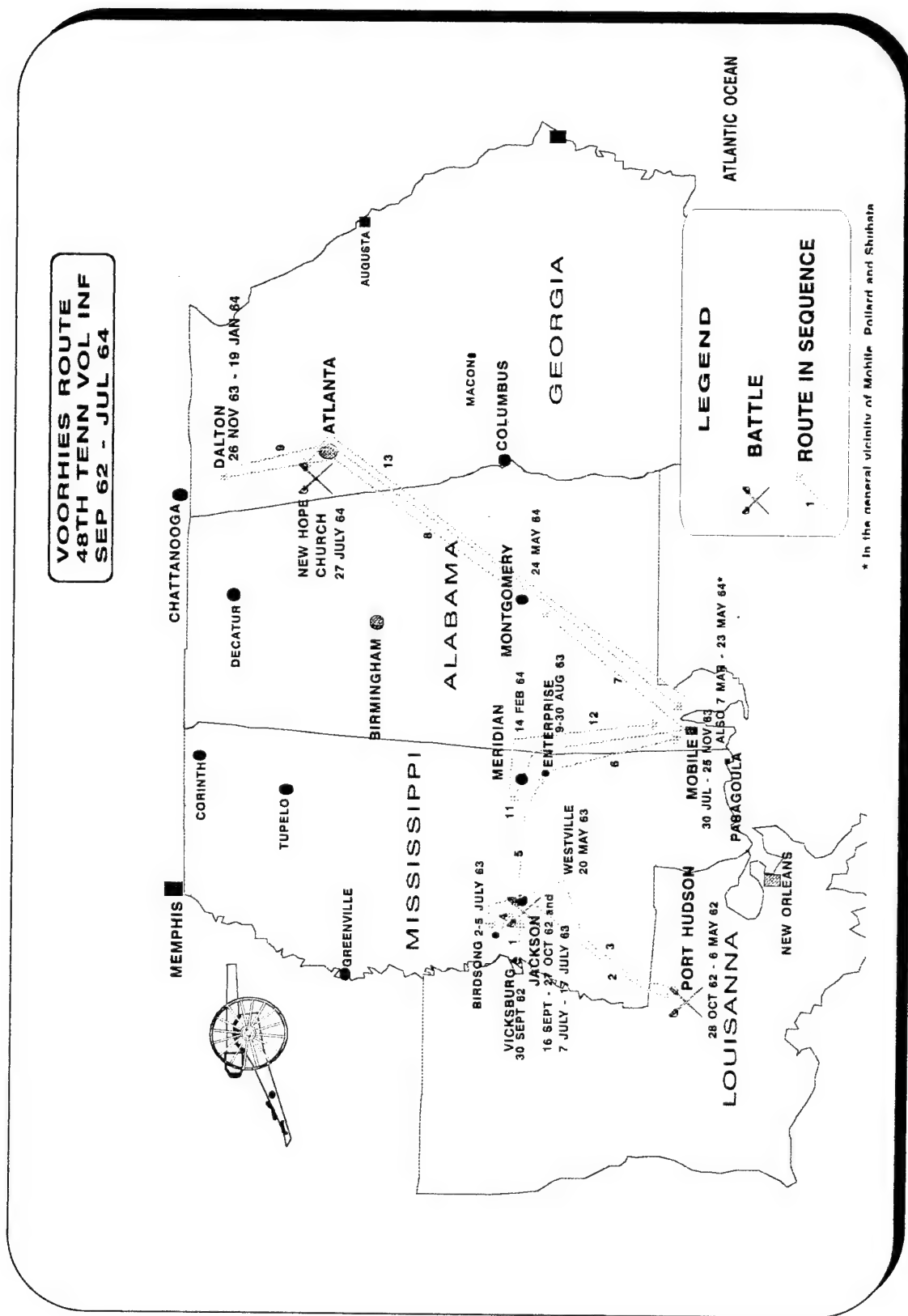


Figure 15. Voorhies' Route September 1862--July 1864.

When the 48th arrived at Jackson, they camped at the fair grounds. They were without arms, tents, or camp gear. The camp was already in use and reeked of effluent. The only advantage of the camp was a nearby spring that provided good water.³

On September 30th, the troops re-elected Voorhies as the commander. Arron S. Godwin was elected Lieutenant Colonel and Andrew Jackson Campbell chosen for the Major's position. Companies also elected officers. Many of the newly elected company grade officers were former enlisted men who had proven themselves at Donelson and Camp Douglas. James T. Mackey, David Trousdale, and Joseph Love were among the new lieutenants and captains.⁴

In early October the quartermasters went to work on the regiment. On the fourth of October oilcloth knapsacks and white cotton cloth haversacks were issued. By the sixth, the regiment had on hand canteens and old smoothbore muskets (Harper's Ferry type without bayonets.)⁵

Thus equipped, on 7 October, the 48th boarded the cars for Holly Springs, Mississippi near Port Hudson, Louisiana. It was not until 11 October that the regiment finally received tents, but only half the number it required.⁶ Months later, in December, some of the troops received new regulation uniforms of gray jackets and blue pants.⁷

On the twenty-eighth of October the 48th arrived at the mighty Mississippi River Fort at Port Hudson.⁸ There the regiment was assigned to Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey's Brigade. The 48th's sister regiments were the 42d, 46th, 49th, 53rd, and 55th Tennessee along with the 4th and 30th Louisiana.⁹

Port Hudson was a small town with four to five houses, a few stores, and a church. It was located 110 miles south of Vicksburg on the Mississippi River.¹⁰ When the 48th arrived at Port Hudson it was already strongly fortified with thirteen heavy guns along the river

bluff. Infantry reinforcements, which included the 48th, greatly increased the strength of the garrison there.¹¹

Like most Southern soldiers, those in the 48th preferred to fight within the borders of their state. So for the veterans of Fort Donelson, the whole idea of forts and gunboats was not appealing. Major Campbell's reaction probably mirrored the consensus of the 48th when he wrote, "You may know that a man as tired of forts and as eager to get to Tennessee as I am, is mad. Sent to the opposite side of the lines to again be bagged [captured]. In the language of Capt. Mouney of Ark. [Campbell's friend], I don't believe fighting gunboats is a fair way of fighting."¹²

Voorhies' 48th spent the next eight months at Port Hudson. Their experience there seems to be typical camp life, relieved by some occasional excitement from the enemy. The soldiers were usually either at drill, picket, or working on the defenses. Events they thought worth noting were the weather (often either "disagreeable" or "rainy"), local military activity, and deaths. They constructed their winter quarters out of logs and listened to the preacher on Sundays.¹³

One of Colonel Voorhies' greatest concerns must have been rebuilding the strength of his battered regiment. He went to see Colonel Nixon to regain his four missing companies, which were lost to him since Fort Donelson. Voorhies was able to persuade his former soldiers to come with him. Consequently, on 27 December the veterans of Nixon's 48th joined his regiment at Port Hudson.¹⁴ On 17 November, an additional thirty-five conscripted soldiers were added to the 48th¹⁵

In another effort to raise the regiment's numbers, Voorhies sent five lucky officers home on recruiting duty. Unfortunately not all of the recruits arrived safely. On 26 December, a train carrying 48th recruits and some officers ran off the track east of Montgomery. Twenty-five of the 48th's soldiers were injured, some severely. Though

none of the troops were killed, the 48th's roster shows several who failed to return to the regiment after the accident. Some of the soldiers never return to the 48th. The last record for those soldiers, like 28 year old Private Woodson L. Anderson, simply state "absent detained by RR accident" or "thrown from rail car."¹⁶

At Port Hudson, the long year of 1862 ground to an end. On New Years day, 1863, Major Andrew Jackson Campbell recorded his thoughts.

Happy New Year. Would it were a happy one for me. But the bright, smiling faces that were wont to greet us in hope we are absent and in mourning. This day to the soldier, has the same monotonous routine as yesterday. . . The uncertain future opens out to us. The clash of hostile arms still resounds over our land. No one can tell but the casualties of war will forever separate us from home and home's loved ones. But hope sweet hope, whispers that we shall meet them again, and peace shall reign over our desolated fields.¹⁷

On 14 February Campbell, who had been very ill for some time, was finally allowed to go home to recover. Again he made a diary entry, "Today, my birthday I leave this abominable place called Port Hudson." Unfortunately, Campbell's petitions for sick leave had been ignored so long that it was no longer possible for the healing power of home to save him. Major Andrew Jackson Campbell died on 29 May 1863 at the age of twenty-nine years, three months and fifteen days.¹⁸

On the night of 14 March the sweet sound of taps floated across the 48th's Port Hudson encampment as the soldiers retired for the night. The troops slept while the Union Navy approached the Fort. The Federals intended to run past the Confederate batteries. Alert Confederates sentries spotted the Yankees and they sounded the alarm.

When the Federal Navy approached, the troops were ready.¹⁹ Lieutenant Mackey wrote, "The enemy commenced to shell us at 1 O'clock. We immediately repaired to the breastworks. The shelling ceased at 4 O'clock."²⁰

The 48th was witness to the dazzling night battle between the Union fleet and Port Hudson's shore batteries.²¹ The sound was thunderous with over a hundred cannon blasting away at each other.²²

First Sergeant Doggett reported that the 48th "took a position in the ditches, the enemy was in plain view of us", and there was "a good deal cannonading and picket fighting."

The enemy fired for four hours into the Confederate breastworks "without producing any other result than continued cheers of the men as his shells exploded."²³ The rebel infantry returned the fire of the gunboats.²⁴

The battle was over by 5:00 A.M. when the Union side-wheeler *Mississippi* "exploded with a tremendous roar that was heard for miles."²⁵ Despite good results for Confederate gun crews, for the 48th the battle appears to have been a draw. No one in the 48th was killed. It also is unlikely that they were able to injure anyone on the Union gunboats with their old Harper's Ferry muskets.²⁶

In March, the regiment embarked on a discharge program, with older and younger players being released from duty. The Union attack on the 14th must have caused Colonel Voorhies to decide to strengthen his regiment, even if he had to sacrifice size. Prior to March 1863, discharges in the Voorhies' 48th averaged two to four a month, but in March the number shot up to sixteen. In April six more were released. Fifteen-year old Francis Taylor was sent home and so was sixteen-year old Tom Flemming. Young Taylor later joined the 11th Tennessee Cavalry. Also discharged was thirty-nine year old Sandy Oliver, who fought with Nixon at Richmond and escaped from the Yankees at Perryville. Overage Sterling Brown was also released, but was later captured with the 48th at Lost Mountain Georgia in 1864.²⁷

During the next few months the regiment lived a relatively peaceful existence at Port Hudson. This ended on 4 May when the fort's commander received an order to send 5,000 troops to Vicksburg.²⁸ The 48th' brigade was selected to go.

On 6 May the 48th marched out of Port Hudson forever. But, not all of the 48th's soldiers were lucky enough to leave. Some fifty-five of the 48th's soldiers were either too sick to go, or volunteered to remain and to man the fort's artillery. The 48th's volunteers were formed into Captain Samuel A. Whiteside's Tennessee battery.²⁹

Whiteside was a tall, dark-haired, blue-eyed captain who had commanded the 48th's C Company since the beginning of the war. He was captured with the regiment at Donelson, imprisoned at Johnson's Island, and exchanged at Vicksburg.³⁰ His new battery was now part of the Maury Tennessee Artillery at the Fort.³¹ Whiteside's volunteers did not have to wait long after their regiment left to see action. A large Union army under General Nathaniel Banks was on its way to capture the Fort. By May 23rd that Union army had succeeded in surrounding the Fort's garrison.³² As the weeks of siege wore on, sickness surged. The Confederate troops were reduced to eating rats and mule. The garrison withstood two major Union ground assaults, one on 27 May and the second on 14 June.

The Confederates held on until after the surrender of Vicksburg, on the 4th of July 1863. On 8 July, white flags dotted the Confederate earthworks at Port Hudson. The next day the garrison formally surrendered. The victorious Union commander assembled the Confederate soldiers and complimented them on their heroic defense. The Federals immediately paroled the enlisted troops and shipped the officers off to prison. Captured officers were sent to Johnson's Island. It was Captain Whiteside's second visit to the prison and it would prove to be an unpleasant one. As the months passed his health failed. He made repeated requests to be exchanged without result. As his condition worsened he requested to be moved to a prison farther south, but the request was ignored. Finally, in November of 1864 he gave in to his captors, and offered to take the oath of amnesty.

Instead, Samuel Whiteside was held until the end of the war. Despite his long imprisonment, Whiteside was more fortunate than one of his Lieutenants, David Johnson, who lies in a grave at Johnson's Island.²²

Port Hudson's paroled enlisted soldiers were allowed to walk home. Some elected not to go, and were sent to a Confederate parole camp at Demopolis, Alabama. Thirty-eight year old Private Robert Hardison decided he had enough of the war, and refused exchange. The Federals shipped him north to take the oath.²⁴

For the rest it was a long journey. It took Private Willoughby W. McLemore until late September to reach his home town of Memphis. Within miles of his home he was detained by the Federals despite his parole. The Yankees told McLemore he required Union General S. A. Hurlburt's permission to be in the town. McLemore requested the permission, stating he would respect his parole until his exchange.

It is not known if McLemore was ever granted entry. Whatever the result of his request, the Federals did not win him over. McLemore, a colonel's son, would be killed fighting the Yankees during the Atlanta campaign.

Over half of the enlisted men captured at Port Hudson rejoined the 48th. The rest never appear on the 48th's record again. The following chart represents the 48th's losses during the Port Hudson time frame.

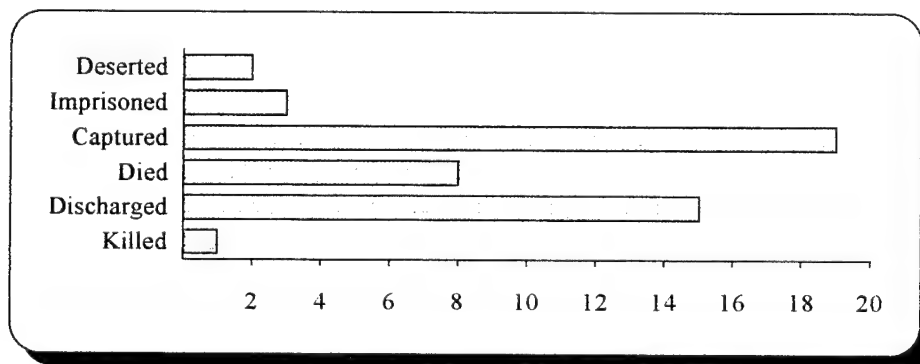


Figure 16. 48th Losses October 62 to July 63. Note: "Imprisoned" refers to the officers captured at Port Hudson.

"Captured" includes those soldiers paroled at Port Hudson, but who failed to return to the 48th.

There were only two confirmed desertions in Voorhies' over the time frame shown in the chart. The only known soldier to die as the result of Federal action in the period was Thomas Jefferson Trousdale. Trousdale was one of four brothers who served in the regiment. Federal records show he was captured at Jackson, Mississippi on 15 May and died as the result of a gunshot wound in a Union hospital on 5 June 1863.³⁵

Jackson and Mobile

On 6 May the 48th left Captain Whiteside and his battery behind. The regiment marched off in the direction of Jackson, Mississippi with Maxey's brigade.³⁶ Voorhies wrote "we were ordered to reinforce the garrison at Vicksburg, Miss. and were compelled to travel all the way on foot. We formed a part of Genl Johnson' Army and participated in the eight days fight before Jackson Miss."³⁷

The countryside east of Port Hudson was called "delightful." The soldiers were no doubt happy to leave their entrenchments. The next day at Clinton, Mississippi Lieutenant Mackey, "Saw many nice ladies who crowded the pavement to take a farewell glance at Port Hudson's defenders."³⁸

The 48th's brigade joined General Joseph Johnston's small Confederate army, that was searching for some way to relieve the besieged Vicksburg. The tactical situation caused the regiment to spend most of the next two months making long marches and short encampments. The 48th's circuitous journey ended at Jackson. The regiments veterans called this portion of the war the "Big Black River campaign of General Johnston."³⁹

This campaign took place during a hot and dusty Mississippi summer. While the regiment's camps were typically agreeable, the

marches could be very difficult. Troops on the march often found water scarce and the dust stifling. Some soldiers were even temporarily blinded by the dust.⁴⁰ After the war, Private John H. Douglas wrote about his experience, "In the Mississippi campaign between Big Black and Jackson I became overheated and lost my voice, which has never fully been regained. For several months I could not speak above a whisper."⁴¹ On 6 June Lieutenant Mackey wrote, "Marched 8 miles. The heat and dust were almost intolerable. The thirsty soldiers quaffed freely of every mud-hole that was near the road. Many were exhausted and left behind."⁴²

The 48th did not get word of Vicksburg's fourth of July surrender until 6 July. At the time, the regiment was camped thirteen miles west of Jackson, only twenty-seven miles from Vicksburg. Mackey wrote, "We were aroused at midnight, but did not start until daylight. Vicksburg has been abandoned to the Yankees by Pemberton. Marched 13 miles in the dust and the heat; day very warm." On the next day he continued, "Day very warm. We retreated to Jackson where we encamped. . . Many soldiers fell by the wayside entirely exhausted."⁴³

On the ninth, the regiment waited in reserve as they observed Confederate wagons go to the rear and civilians flee the approach of Lieutenant General William T. Sherman's 50,000 man army.⁴⁴ When the Union Army arrived it did not attack Jackson, but entrenched. Sherman planned to shell the Confederates into submission. He ordered four of his artillery batteries to fire one round into the Confederate positions every five minutes, day and night.⁴⁵

Skirmishing and scattered Union assaults continued over the next week. The 48th continued in the reserve. On the 13th the Federal cannonading increased. That day Mackey recorded,

The 48th as usual laid very low; none of us hurt. In the evening the loud-mouthed cannon opened with redoubled fury. . . . We were in reserve at the angle of the two fires and were in great danger. A shell struck near us, killing one mule and wounding another.

Another shell passed through a tree immediately over our heads, perforating the tree through and through, three feet from the ground. One also struck a tree, rebounding without exploding, and passed in less than two feet of Capt. Love and others, not withstanding they were in the horizontal position. Holes and gullies were in great demand. Skirmishing continued all night.⁴⁶

The concentrated artillery fire finally drove the Confederates to abandon Jackson during the night of 16 July 1863.⁴⁷ The 48th's long march to Jackson, the Federal bombardment, and the weather combined to make the retreat from Jackson miserable. Hard rain and flooding made roads almost impassable for the tired troops. Mackey continued that the march was, "the hardest duty we have met with." First Sergeant Doggett simply complained "got no rations."⁴⁸

Roughly 300 men of the 48th continued to retreat slowly eastward with their brigade. On the twenty-fifth the retreat stopped twelve miles west of Forest Station, Mississippi. The troops rested there for the next two weeks. On 8 August the 48th marched on to Forest Station and caught the train for Enterprise, Mississippi.⁴⁹ The regiment arrived at Enterprise on the 9th and stayed in "pleasant camps" there until the 30th when they moved on to Mobile, Alabama.⁵⁰

Voorhies' 48th remained at Mobile on garrison duty from 31 October 1863, to late November. The regiment formed part of the Confederate garrison guarding Mobile Bay. The 48th's first camp was called Morgan. It was located twelve miles from Mobile in the vicinity of Hall's Mill.⁵¹ Mackey reported that the regiment "Found barracks and many other conveniences and took up camp."⁵²

For the next three months the regiment guarded the coast from Mobile to Pascagoula.⁵³ The duty at Mobile was agreeable and commanders would grant passes to Mobile or Pascagoula. For the land-locked Tennessee boys, their first trip to Pascagoula made quite an impression. First Sergeant Jasper Doggett wrote,

went to town and saw anything that a person could call for and the boys went out for a walk 1/2 mile into the Gulf and got plenty of oysters (and) sea crabs. We spent an hour in . . . hottest of water witch [sic] was very salt [sic]. . . it was a sea of water as far as

your eyes would let us [sic] see. The water at a distance looked like great mountains a rising. We saw the wreck [sic] of a gunboat that was burnt to prevent her from folling [sic] into the enemy's hands.⁵⁴

When not on the move, the regiment drilled, heard speeches from their generals, and once even passed in review for President Davis.⁵⁵ But the military high point of the regiment's duty was the task of guarding a beached blockade runner at Pascagoula.⁵⁶

On the 5th of September the 48th listened to General Maxey's farewell speech as the command of their brigade passed to Colonel William Quarles from the 42d Tennessee.⁵⁷ General Maxey was well liked by the men in the 48th but they were not disappointed with Quarles. Since Fort Donelson, the 42d was always with the 48th and the troops knew him well. Captain Love wrote, "Gen. Quarles was a brave and dashing commander, and the boys had confidence in him."⁵⁸ Another soldier continued, "It is true the brigade all loved Sam Maxey and hated to give him up; but soon they found Gen. Quarles all that could be desired in a commander. He was brave to a fault."⁵⁹

On 25 November, three-hundred miles away at Chattanooga, the Army of Tennessee was soundly defeated at the battle of Missionary Ridge. Reinforcements were urgently needed to halt the Federals, so Quarles' brigade was ordered to join the army at Dalton, Georgia.

The 48th arrived at Dalton on 26 November. They were in time to hear the final cannons fire, but not in time to fight in the battle. The regiment marched north of Dalton on the Knoxville Road and formed part of the rear guard.⁶⁰ There they observed the pull-out of Bragg's beaten and demoralized army. It was not a pretty sight. Doggett noted "passing a great many stragglers."⁶¹

For the first time during the war, both Voorhies' and Nixon's 48th Regiments shared the same ground. Nixon's 48th also had a rear guard mission, but with Polk's Brigade, not Quarles'. Nixon's was one of the last regiments to pass by Voorhies' in the retreat. On 28

November, Sparkman, Nixon's Quartermaster Sergeant, noted the event: "Col. Voorhies 48th Ten. is here from Mobile. I was glad to meet with the boys."⁶² Doggett also noted Nixon's 48th passed through their position, adding that Nixon marched by with a "lot of cavalry."⁶³

Voorhies' small regiment was not a great addition to the strength of the Army of Tennessee. On 14 December 1863 the 48th reported only 248 soldiers effective of 267 soldiers present. The regiment was poorly armed and only 202 of the soldiers even possessed muskets.

Voorhies' 48th went into the winter encampment at Dalton. In January they began to build winter huts with the rest of the Army.⁶⁴ They would not occupy their new quarters for long because on 18 January the whole brigade had orders to return to Mobile. That night there was a big celebration in the 48th's camp.⁶⁵

The next morning the regiment boarded the train for Mobile, arriving at Camp Morgan on 26 January. At Mobile the 48th was assigned to Dabney H. Maury's division.⁶⁶ The regiment's next few months are described by Captain Love,

In January we were again ordered to Mobile; we were sent to join Polk's army, to meet the advance of General Sherman, placed in Gen. French's division. We retreated with Gen. Polk's army to Meridian. Were again ordered back to Mobile. From Mobile [we were] ordered to the Army of Tennessee.⁶⁷

By May of 1864 almost non-stop combat raged in northern Georgia as Sherman relentlessly pushed his army southward toward Atlanta. What was left of Nixon's 48th was still with Polk's Brigade trying to stop them. For Voorhies' 48th, the short lived respite in Mobile was over. On 27 May 1864, Voorhies' regiment rejoined the Army of Tennessee. The regiment would remain with that Army until the end of the war.

Endnotes

63. ¹ Archives. Letter from Voorhies to Governor Harris, 31 Oct

² Roster of the 48th.

³ Campbell, 79.

⁴ Ibid., 79

⁵ Ibid., 81. Mackey 17.

⁶ Ibid., 83

⁷ Mackey, 19.

⁸ Ibid., 18.

⁹ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 282. OR, Series I, Vol 16, 934. General Orders.

¹⁰ Lawrence Lee Hewitt, *Port Hudson Confederate Bastion on the Mississippi* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 4.

¹¹ Ibid., 20-21.

¹² Campbell, 91.

¹³ Both Mackey and Campbell diaries.

¹⁴ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*. 282

¹⁵ Mackey, 18.

¹⁶ Both Mackey and Campbell mention the train wreck. The archives reference the wreck in individual records.

¹⁷ Campbell, 103.

¹⁸ Ibid., 113 & 119.

¹⁹ Edward Young McMorries, Ph. D. *History of the First Regiment Alabama Volunteer Infantry, C.S.A.*, (Montgomery: Brown Printing, 1904), 53. The 1st Alabama was with the 48th in Maxey's Brigade.

²⁰ Mackey, 23.

²¹ Cunningham, 23-33.

²² Ibid., 26.

²³ OR, XXXVIII, part III, Maxey's report.

²⁴ Cunningham, 28.

²⁵ Ibid., 32.

²⁶ Mackey, 23.

²⁷ Roster of the 48th.

²⁸ Cunningham, 35.

- ²⁹ Roster of the 48th. OR Series I, Vol XXXVIII, part III, 143.
- ³⁰ Archives
- ³¹ OR, XXXVIII, part III, 143.
- ³² Cunningham, 45.
- ³³ Roster of the 48th. Whiteside's letter to Johnson Island authorities in the Archives dated 6 October 1864.
- ³⁴ Archives.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ *Tenneseans in the Civil War*, 282.
- ³⁷ Letter from Voorhies to Governor Harris, date 31 Oct 63.
- ³⁸ Mackey, 26.
- ³⁹ Beers, 233, in reference to Fenner's Battery, Quarles' Brigade artillery, 233.
- ⁴⁰ Rev J. H. M'Nielly, D.D., in *Confederate Veteran*, 1920, 96. The 42d's chaplain was blinded by the dust. At the time M'Nielly was the chaplain of the 42d regiment consolidated with Voorhies 48th, both in Maxey's brigade.
- ⁴¹ Mamie Yeary, *Reminiscences of the Boys in Gray, 1861-1865*, (McGregor Texas, 1921) 195.
- ⁴² Mackey, 27.
- ⁴³ Ibid., 29.
- ⁴⁴ Gilbert Govan and James Livingwood, *A Different Valor*, Joseph E. Johnston (Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1956) 215.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 216.
- ⁴⁶ Mackey 30.
- ⁴⁷ Joesph E. Johnston, *Narrative of Military Operations during the Civil War* (Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press), 209.
- ⁴⁸ Mackey, 30. Doggett, 18 July 63.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., 31. Estimated the size of the regiment during the time frame by using an average company size for those companies not reported.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid., 33
- ⁵¹ Doggett's diary mentions camp Cummings and Hall's Mill. Mackey says refers to Camp Morgan 12 miles from Mobile.
- ⁵² Mackey, 32.
- ⁵³ Love, 547.

- ⁵⁴ Doggett, diary entry.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid., mentions the drilling, speeches and Davis.
- ⁵⁶ Love, 547.
- ⁵⁷ Doggett, 8 September, 1863.
- ⁵⁸ Love, 547.
- ⁵⁹ *Confederate Veteran*, Vol III, 50.
- ⁶⁰ Doggett, 26 November.
- ⁶¹ Ibid., 26 November.
- ⁶² Sparkman, 56.
- ⁶³ Doggett, 28 November.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid., 10 January 1864.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid., 18 January 1864.
- ⁶⁶ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 283. Doggett, 26 January 1865.
- ⁶⁷ Love, 547.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE HOTTEST CONTEST

From Mobile [the 48th was] ordered to the Army of Tennessee, joining Gen. Johnston at New Hope Church, May 27th, 1864, and taking part in all the engagements from New Hope, Pine Mountain, Kennesaw, Peach-tree Creek Atlanta, Lick-skillet Road, to July 28th. This was the hottest contest we engaged in during the war. Our brigade lost in killed and wounded over one-half of its men.

Captain Joe Love in *Military Annals of Tennessee*

New Hope Church and Kennesaw Mountain

In May of 1864, three Federal armies under Sherman were driving Johnston's out-numbered Army of Tennessee southward. The armies fought five major engagements in twelve days during the drive. The Confederates were slowly being forced back to defensive positions around New Hope Church, Georgia.¹ Voorhies' 48th was still at Mobile with Quarles' brigade, French's division, and the Army of Mississippi. Lieutenant Colonel Aaron S. Godwin was temporarily in command, as Colonel Voorhies was presumably ill.²

On 4 May, Richmond ordered the Army of Mississippi to reinforce Johnston.³ Voorhies' 48th left Mobile about 21 May 1864, on rail cars bound for Marietta, Georgia. They arrived there at 2:00 P.M. on the 26th and started for the front some twenty-eight miles away at the already bloody New Hope Church battlefield.⁴ The Federals had launched a major attack there the day before and then they used the day of the 26th to prepare for another assault.

The twenty-eight mile march to New Hope took the brigade all night to accomplish. The regiment arrived at sunrise and was put into the reserve. First Sergeant Doggett wrote, "Friday the 29th [May]. At

sunrise we took our position as reserve column to reinforce the right. Marched two miles."⁵ When Voorhies' 48th arrived, Nixon's 48th, still commanded by Captain Henry G. Evans, was already in the battle line.⁶ The upcoming battle of New Hope Church (or Pickett's Mill) would be unique in the 48th's history: for the first time, both regiments would fight on the same battlefield. Ironically, during the battle they would both serve with Cleburne's famous division as separate regiments.

The scene at New Hope must have been a surprise to Voorhies' men. This was a new kind of war for them. Unlike Nixon's 48th, their war had been one of forts, gunboats, prison camp, of acting as the reserve, pleasant garrison duty, and long marches. Now they were assigned to a new army facing a large and aggressive enemy force. All around them were the awful sights and smells of battle. The weather was hot and the dead from the battle of two days before made the atmosphere putrid. As one soldier recalled, there was, "a sickening odor of dead men and horses."⁷

The Confederates knew the attack was coming.⁸ Quarles' brigade was located just behind the New Hope Church. At 11:00 A.M., on the 27th of May, Federal divisions under Wood and Johnson moved to their attack positions. It was rough country with "dense forests and thicket jungles, over a country scarred by deep ravines and intersected by difficult ridges."⁹ Because of the rough terrain, the assault did not get underway until 5:00 P.M. The attack would be later be referred to as, "The Federal disaster at Pickett's Mill."¹⁰

Cleburne noted the Federals advanced with "a courage worthy of an honorable cause."¹¹ The attack, however, was repulsed by Cleburne's men, inflicting very heavy casualties on Wood's division. More Federals then marched up and the attack resumed.

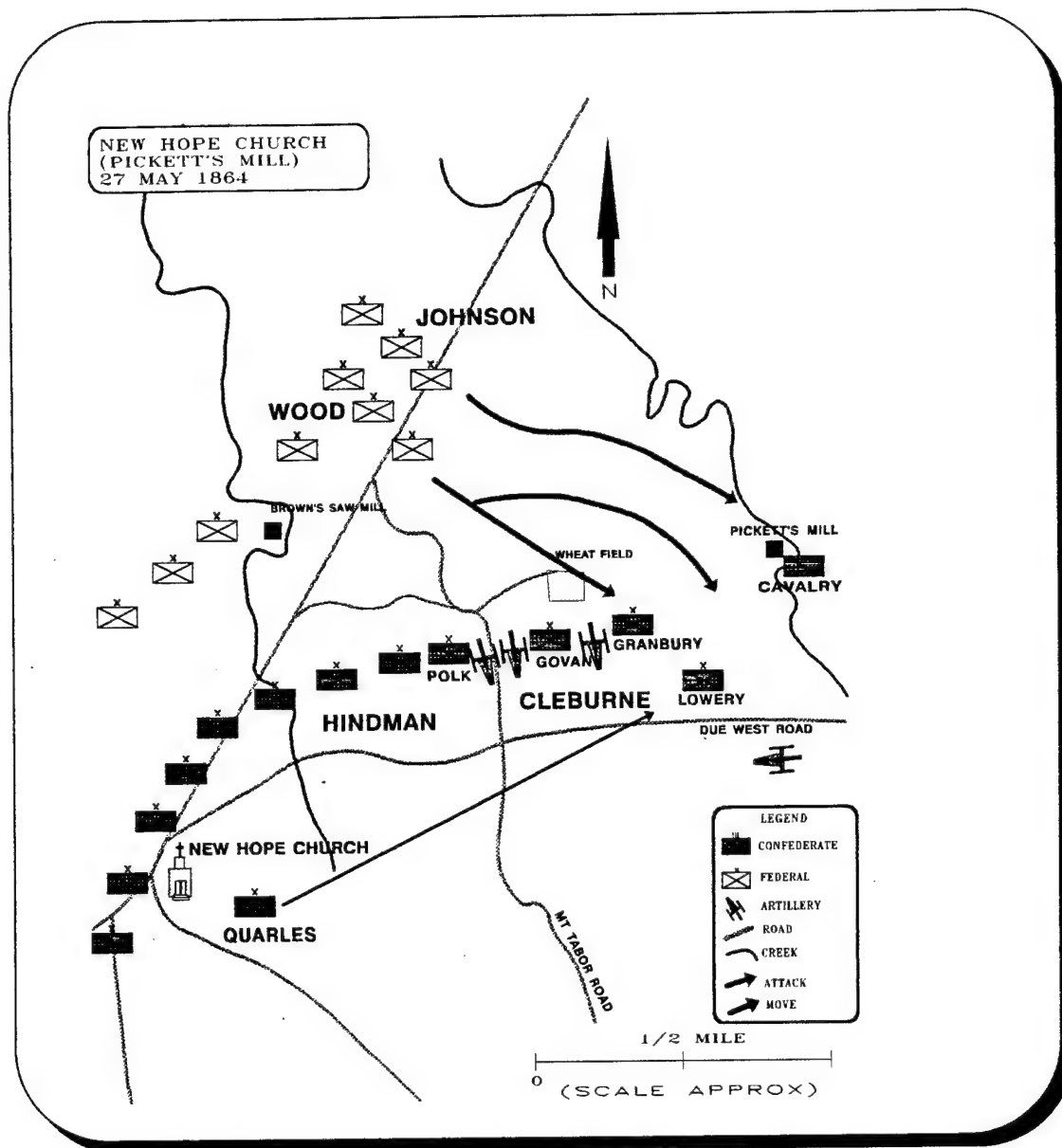


Figure 17. New Hope Church, 27 May 1864.

There was some confusion in Cleburne's line late in the evening. Word was that the line had broken. Cleburne's staff officers rushed Quarles' brigade forward.¹² Quarles' brigade moved rapidly to the right, some four miles, and then were "halted and fronted in line of battle".¹³

Cleburne moved Quarles to the rear of Lowrey's brigade to form a second line at dusk. Heavy fighting continued in front of Granbury's brigade. Quarles' troops could hear firing to their left. The orders came "By the left flank march." The regiment moved into the dense woods toward the enemy and soon met Union skirmishers. One of the 48th's sister regiments, the 4th Louisiana, was probably the first engaged. In a loud clear voice General Quarles commanded "Fire and charge!" The troops responded, "With a long crash-fire and that terrible yell, and dashed forward. . . ." In the starlight the Confederates were astonished by "a perfect sea of glittering bayonets moving before [them]." The pace of the attack increased as the ground cleared. The Federal troops broke for the rear and the Confederate attack was halted.¹⁴ Doggett's account of the battle is more succinct, "formed, enemy in force, the battle raging. We make a charge and drove the enemy. Lay on our arms all night."¹⁵

Voorhies' troops had been fortunate; they had made their first charge of the war and the enemy did not stay and fight. Certainly, by the time the 48th was thrown into the battle at Pickett's Mill, the Federals were already beaten. Casualties were light across the brigade; there are no recorded combat deaths in the regiment on 27 May. General Cleburne was still glad to have their aid and noted Quarles' participation in the battle and he acknowledged the brigade in his official report: "General Quarles and his brigade have my thanks."¹⁶ Nixon's 48th missed the brunt of the combat as well, because the spearhead of the Union attack fell to the right of Nixon's position.

On 28 May, Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman wrote, "Issued rations at the rifle pits last night and just after heavy firing to the right. There is little rest for those who are out in a line of battle. I am very thankful that I am so fortunate as to belong to the Quartermaster's Department." On the twenty-ninth of May, Sparkman had

the unpleasant task of hauling the wounded to the railroad and he wrote, "they suffer greatly from being in the wagons."¹⁷ That evening the regiment returned to a line of entrenchments that went through the graveyard at the church. The close proximity of graves to the trenches was of no comfort to the soldiers occupying them.¹⁸

Both 48th regiments stayed in the area for several more days, improving their defensive positions, while receiving intermittent artillery and small arms fire. Life in the trenches did not improve as the month closed. On 31 May, Doggett wrote, "We lay in the ditches all day at the Church. At dark we mooved [sic] a little north east of the Church and worked all night." The next day he complained, "The sharpshooters shooting at us are very close."¹⁹

Finally, on 4 June, the Confederate army evacuated New Hope in a torrential rain. They took up new positions around Lost Mountain.²⁰ The brigade moved over high, steep, hills crossed by frequent streams. Although the streams were, "normally insignificant, [they] had been swollen by recent heavy rains into roaring torrents." In pitch black darkness, broken only by occasional lightning, the regiment stumbled through in knee-deep mud for six miles.²¹ Doggett wrote, "Saturday the 4th rain today, still in the ditches, some rain all day, prepared to move off at sundown. Mooved [sic] in silence at 10 o'clock night. Very slow, very dark, the roads extremely muddy"²² Another one of the brigade's soldiers wrote:

[It was] the darkest, rainiest, and worst night we experienced during that campaign. In the darkness could be heard the sharp crack of the drivers' whips, the sharp orders of the artillery officers trying to extricate a cannon, now a wagon, then a horse out of the deep mud in the road. Still the order: move forward, press on. Many having lost their shoes were barefoot. Some were singing, some giving Jeff [Davis] a lecture, and others silent.²³

The regiment moved again the next day, and helped to establish the new Lost Mountain line on June 6th. Doggett's diary details the regiment's depressing schedule: on the 6th, "worked all

evening and night on rifle pits, rain." Again on the 7th, "Finished pits this morning 12 O'clock noon. Took up a line of march, mooved [sic] 3 miles to the right, took positions 4 O'clock P.M. Commenced making rifle pits, worked all night, some rain." On the 8th he writes, "Works finished this morning . . . some rain." On 9 June the regiment received a brief respite but on the 10th they moved to the right again and "took position in the ditches, some rain" On the 13th they moved again. Doggett related, "Started at daylight, mooved [sic] 2 miles to the right took position in the ditches. The enemy in plain view of us"²⁴

The enemy was not only in view, but in range and on the 14th the Federals started to shell the Confederate line again. Every day for the next four days the Federal cannons blasted away, while pickets and sharpshooters continually traded shots with the enemy. The din of small arms fire reminded one of Quarles' soldiers of ten-thousand wood choppers at work.²⁵

On the 17th of June, just three miles away from Voorhies' 48th's position in the line, General Lucius Polk was severely wounded. Polk who had served as the regiment's (Nixon's) brigade commander so well, was wounded for the fourth time and would not fight again. Sam Watkins paid Polk, and indirectly Nixon's regiment, the following tribute:

In every battle, Polk's brigade, of Cleburne's division, distinguished itself, almost making the name Cleburne as the Stonewall of the west . . . in every attack he had the advance guard, and in every retreat the rear guard of the army. Why? Because General Lucius E. Polk and his brave soldiers never faltered.²⁶

On 18 June the skirmishing claimed the life of B Company's twenty-four year old Private William Henry Harrison Douglass. Harrison, affectionately known as "Tip," (short for Tippecanoe), was one of three brothers who served in the 48th. Tip's brother Hugh was beside him when he was killed, catching him as he fell.²⁷ Later that night the

Confederate army retreated, but did not go far. The new Kennesaw line was near the last line. The 48th was stationed directly on the side of Kennesaw Mountain itself.

Kennesaw Mountain

Again the Federals pursued Johnston's army, and again there was day after day of "cannonading and picket fighting." Upon their arrival on Kennesaw, Quarles' troops thought they were too high on the mountain for the Union artillery to reach them. Unfortunately for them, they were wrong. The Federal artillery provided an unpleasant surprise:

[The rebels on Kennesaw] threw off their knapsacks and cartridge boxes and instead of digging trenches to protect themselves, they threw themselves on the ground for a good rest and nap of sleep. However, their rest was not long undisturbed, for while we were forming on the mountain our neighbors, the Hookers, were getting into position in front of the mountain, and as soon as they got things straightened around a little and let us know they were at home and ready for business."²⁸

Sparkman's diary entries hint at the difficult days the 48th spent on Kennesaw Mountain. On June nineteenth he wrote, "Hard pouring rain yet they continue to shell." The days were so monotonous that Sparkman who earlier faithfully made a daily diary entry, started to lump the days together, writing, "June 20-21. Rain, shelling and skirmishing, sharpshooters now crossfire so much that trees are not much shelter unless they are large. June 22nd-6th. Fine clear days. Shelling occasionally and sharpshooting day and night."²⁹

On Kennesaw Mountain, Quarles' Brigade was located near the extreme right of the Confederate line in Walthall's Division. From their position, Voorhies' regiment could easily view Sherman's vast armies.³⁰ This battle would prove their mettle. Though Nixon's 48th had been in the forefront of the fighting at Richmond, Perryville, and Chickamauga, Voorhies' had yet to be in the middle of a desperate battle. Telling the tale, is their respective casualty figures from 1861 to early June, 1864. In Nixon's regiment, the number of killed and wounded was fourteen times greater than that of Voorhies' 48th.³¹

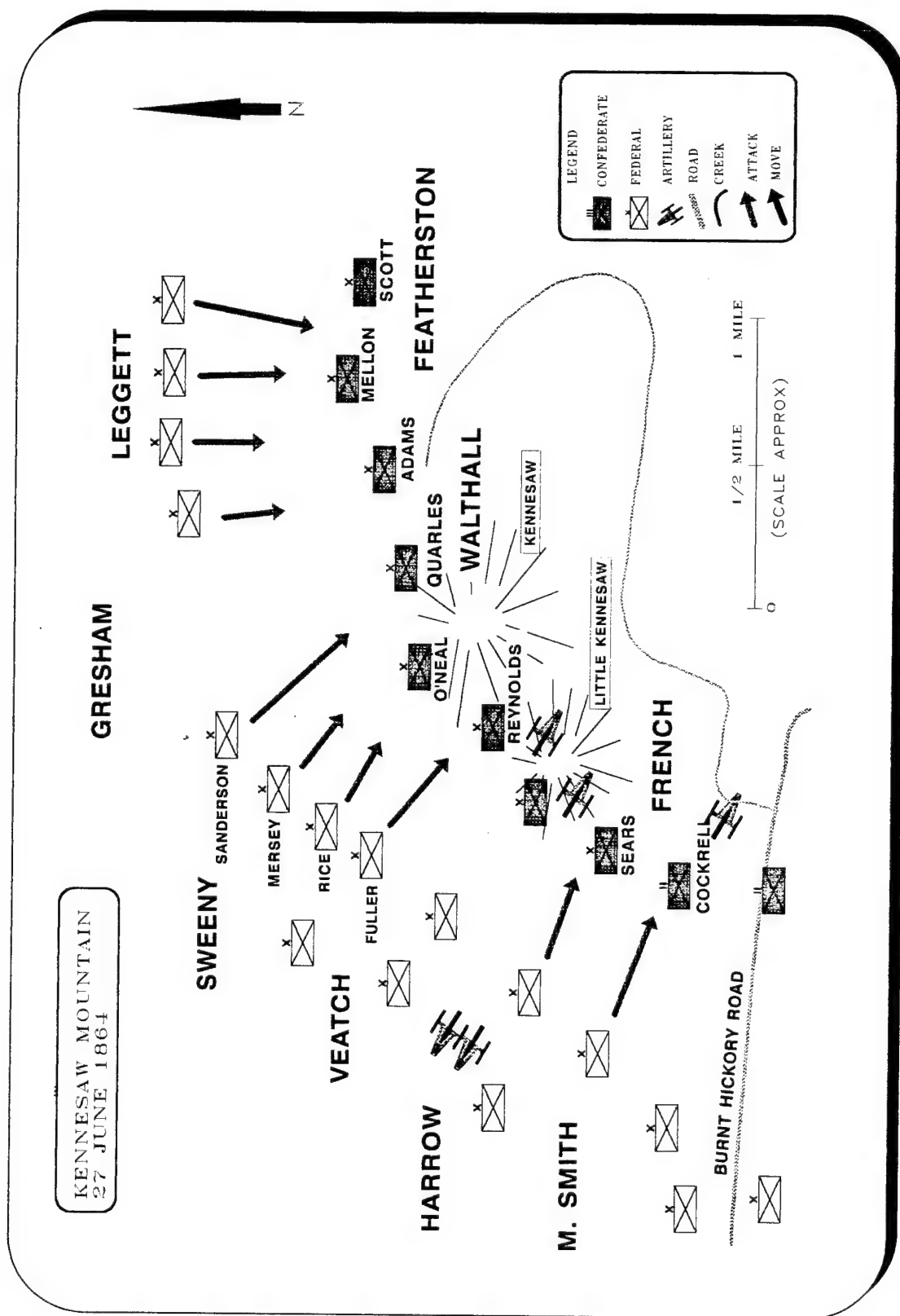


Figure 18. Kennesaw Mountain.

When the sun rose over Kennesaw Mountain on 27 June 1864, it was a hot, clear, and cloudless day. At precisely 8:00 A.M., fifty-three Federal field pieces opened up on Kennesaw, with Quarles' brigade being "severely" shelled.³² At 10:00 A.M. the Union XVI Corps moved forward. The Union brigade directly in front of Quarles' position was Sanderson's brigade of Gresham's division.³³

The 1st Alabama, one of the 48th's sister regiments, was in the picket-line in the front of the brigade. First the Union sharpshooters advanced, then came a "heavy" line of skirmishers. Behind the skirmishers advanced the Federal main line of battle. At this point, General Quarles became concerned about the ability of the 1st Alabama troops to resist the enemy's strong advance.³⁴

When the Federals came within range, the rebels fired. The Union troops yelled, and then broke into a charge. The charging Yankees made it to the brigade's rifle pits, but no farther. F. Y. Hedley, a Union soldier in the 32nd Illinois, Sanderson's brigade, reported that they were forced back after they passed through Quarles' rifle pits, when the main rebel line opened up on them. Hedley wrote, "And then from the light red line of earth, which concealed the foe came a storm of lead, which, united with the volleys of artillery on either flank, bore down countless scores."³⁵ The blue-clad soldiers were either shot down or forced to surrender.³⁶ Even General Joe Johnston mentioned this portion of the battle in his memoirs: "The firing was always within easy, and frequently very short range. A body of assailants charged into Quarles' rifle pits where most of them were killed or captured."³⁷

Casualties from the battle were light. The 48th is thought to have lost only one soldier, twenty-two year old Private Pleasant Aldridge of E Company.³⁸ Even the 1st Alabama, which bore most of the fighting, lost only one killed and five wounded.³⁹ The remnants of Nixon's regiment fought at Kennesaw as well. Quartermaster Sergeant

Sparkman reported, "The Yankees charged Cleburne's and Cheatham's Divisions, they were repulsed with heavy loss to them but little to us. Nixon's 48th lost Jas. Hill killed, J. Jones and Capt. Cooper wounded."⁴⁰ The firing continued throughout the next day until late in evening when "they quit to bury the dead."⁴¹

The next day Sparkman, still with Nixon's regiment, wrote, "Our men got several fine hats, haversacks etc. Some they took from the prisoners which they took yesterday; this I think is wrong"⁴²

On 2 July, the brigade retreated south of Marietta. On the third, the relentless Federal pressure continued. Edward McMorries of the 1st Alabama wrote, "The Federals advanced in force . . . planted a battery on our right and about 2:00 P.M. made a fierce [artillery] attack from their position. Heavy sharpshooting all night."⁴³

On the Fourth of July the regiment witnessed a demonstration from the enemy. To celebrate the holiday, the Federals fired a "National salute with loaded shot and shell at us, their brass bands along the lines struck up National airs with loud huzzahs."⁴⁴ That night the Army of Tennessee silently slipped away from the Kennesaw line. The 48th along with the rest of Quarles' brigade, served as the rear guard for the army. One soldier noted that, "For a short time Quarles' brigade alone confronted Sherman's army."⁴⁵

The next day the Federals were surprised that the rebels were gone. Private Kemp Goodman, of C company, may have been surprised as well, as somehow he was left behind and captured by the Yankees.⁴⁶ The regiment entrenched north of the Chattahoochee River, and skirmished with the enemy until the ninth of July. That night the army fell back to the Atlanta line, their final defensive line in front of the city.⁴⁷

On 14 July 1864, Polk's brigade was officially broken up and the remnants of Nixon's 48th were joined with Voorhies' 48th. Colonel Voorhies now commanded all of the 48th' soldiers. No longer would there

be two distinct regiments.⁴⁸ Sergeant Sparkman was disappointed when he learned of the transfer to Voorhies's command and wrote, "Most of the men are dissatisfied with the arrangement. I hate very much to leave Cleburne's division for it has such good character."⁴⁹ On the sixteenth, First Sergeant Doggett of Voorhies' regiment acknowledged the arrival of their twin regiment with a simple, "Nixon's 48th Regt. came to our Regt. this morning."⁵⁰

On the eighteenth of June, the regiment learned that General Johnston had been replaced by General John Bell Hood. Sparkman responded with, "I do not know the cause and I am afraid it will have a bad effect for the army had the utmost confidence in Gen. Johnston."

The promotion of Hood to command the Army of Tennessee changed its posture from defensive to offensive. Hood attacked almost immediately, launching his first attack the twentieth of June (Peach Tree Creek), and a second on the twenty-second (Battle of Atlanta). At Peachtree Creek, Quarles' brigade was in reserve.⁵¹ Although General Quarles reported that his brigade was not engaged in the battle, the skirmishing around the brigade must have been terrific. Quarles reported his 20 July losses as seven killed, seventeen wounded.⁵²

The next day, the regiment returned to entrenchments at Atlanta.⁵³ It was then that Sparkman first saw artillery impact on Atlanta.⁵⁴ On the twenty-second, the brigade was again in a line of battle. Its mission was to storm a Union twelve-gun battery. Fortunately for the 48th, the main Confederate attack failed and the order for the regiment to attack never came.⁵⁵

Lick Skillet Road

On 27 July Sherman was trying to encircle Atlanta, by sending the Union Army of the Tennessee around the eastern side of the city to cut Lick Skillet Road and the Macon and Western Railroad. After they

obtained the road, the Federals established strong defensive positions across the road and around Ezra Church.

The battle of Lick Skillet (or Ezra Church) started at 2:00 P.M., when Stephen D. Lee's Confederate Corps attacked the Federals. Lee's results were disappointing, his casualties high. While the battle raged, E. C. Walthall's Division of A. P. Stewart's Corps, along with Quarles' brigade, marched toward the sound of battle. The weather was hot. After a "somewhat fatiguing" march, the brigade arrived at about 1:00 P.M.⁵⁶

Reynolds' and Cantey's Brigades formed into a line of battle with Quarles' brigade in the reserve. At 2:00 P.M. Reynolds and Cantey attacked. General Walthall personally led his division, as the brigades moved over open ground. Within minutes they came under fire and as they struggled to within thirty yards of the enemy works, they were driven back. The Confederates retreated to the scant shelter of a split rail fence line. Then for an additional two hours the "conflict raged with great fury and slaughter."⁵⁷ Walthall finally called for Quarles' brigade. Colonel O'Neal, of Cantey's Brigade reported, "General Quarles brigade was ordered up. His troops came up in splendid style, and at once opened on the enemy a heavy fire."⁵⁸ Lieutenant Colonel Godwin was still in command of the regiment. Captain Love of E company commanded the skirmish line. The regiment passed through an old field. Soon they started receiving artillery fire from Union batteries hidden by a dense woods. Quarles pressed on, passing Cantey's brigade which was lying down. They crossed a split rail fence, then charged down a slope into a stream and started up a hill.⁵⁹

The defending Union general was alarmed at the sight of Quarles' brigade. He reinforced his line with two more regiments and then appealed to General Sherman for additional troops.⁶⁰

The Federals greeted the advancing Confederates with a heavy fire to their flank and front. The troops continued forward "with heads down as though breasting a cyclone, pressing onward, till Gen. Quarles, seeing that none could reach the enemy's line, gave the order to fall back."⁶¹

Captain Love of the 48th described the battle:

The enemy would hurl their double line of battle against our forces and drive them down the hill; so soon as they attempted to extend their line, our men would drive them back. This was repeated three times. The third time a Federal regiment emerged from the wood, one man carrying three guns and his comrades two rails each; in this way a line of breastworks was thrown up across the open space in ten minutes.⁶²

At this point the 48th's Lieutenant Kerr was badly wounded.⁶³ Quarles had a second horse shot from under him.⁶⁴ Confederate generals Stewart and Loring were also wounded. General Walthall finally recalled the attack and the brigade retreated back to the safety of the stream.⁶⁵

Accurate casualty figures on the 48th in this battle are not available. However, of the 913 soldiers in Quarles' brigade at the beginning of the attack, 496 of those were killed or wounded. One of the 48th's sister regiments, the combined 46/55th Tennessee, lost 150 of its 250 men killed and wounded. This regiment had four color bearers shot down and their banner captured by the Yankees.⁶⁶ In Quarles' other regiments, Major Knox, commanding the 1st Alabama, was badly wounded, as was Colonel Young of the 49th Tennessee. Lieutenant Colonel Shields of the 30th Louisiana, and Colonel White of the 53rd Tennessee, were both killed.⁶⁷ After the engagement the brigade bivouacked near the battlefield. The next morning they made the sad march to their old positions in the trenches around Atlanta.⁶⁸

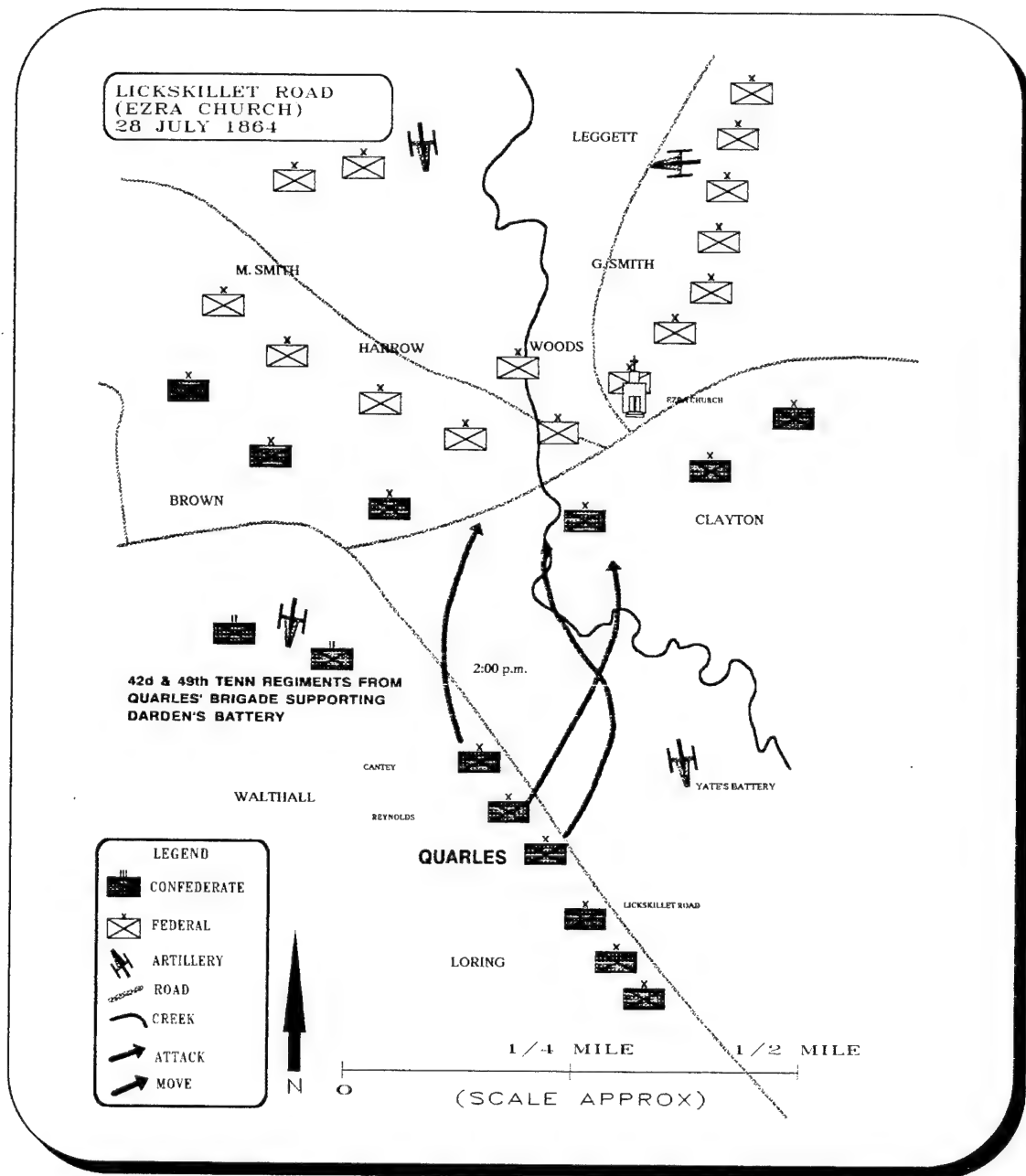


Figure 19. Lickskillet Road.

Lovejoy's Station

Quarles' last battle of the Atlanta Campaign was at Lick Skillet Road, but the 48th was detached from the brigade to fight in one more contest. On the evening of the 19th of August, Union General Hugh J. Kilpatrick's cavalry was busy destroying Jonesboro, Georgia. The

Federals burned the county court house, the train station, a train, warehouses, stores, and several homes. The Yankees appropriated a large amount of whiskey and many of them got drunk.⁶⁹ Early the next morning Kilpatrick's troopers moved on to Lovejoy's Station.

Confederate cavalry in the vicinity requested immediate infantry support. Armstrong's brigade and Reynolds' Arkansas Brigade were selected to go. Reynolds was short on troops because one of his regiments was on picket duty. General Quarles selected the 48th to round out Reynolds' brigade. However, even with the addition of the 48th, Reynolds' whole brigade only numbered 300. Together the Arkansas troops and the Tennesseans then boarded rail cars bound for Lovejoy's.⁷⁰

The train took the soldiers as far as Jonesboro, where they were forced to get off because of the damage Kilpatrick's troops had done to the tracks. The regiment marched around the half mile of damaged track and then boarded another train for Lovejoy's. Their arrival was an unwelcome surprise to Kilpatrick. For a while the Yankees were encircled. They had Confederate infantry to their front and Confederate cavalry behind them.

Captain Love describes the fighting late on the morning of 20 August:

We formed a line, and advanced but one hundred yards before we encountered Federal cavalry. Although they were in force, and had built pens of rails and logs for protection, they seemed paralyzed when they saw they were attacked by infantry. A perfect panic followed. Within the space of twenty minutes we killed seventy-four and captured twenty-three prisoners.⁷¹

Looking for a way out of the trap, Kilpatrick mounted his troops and drove them through the dismounted rebel cavalry to his rear. Kilpatrick's breakout occurred at about 4:00 P.M. This attack was the first and only successful mounted attack of the entire Atlanta campaign.⁷²

The 48th lost four men killed and several wounded.⁷³ Thirty-eight year old Robert Dooley was shot in the head. (Ironically

Dooley's brother served during the war as a Union scout.)⁷⁴ Almost immediately after the departure of their enemy, the 48th Tennessee returned to Jonesboro. Some of the captured Federal cavalrymen were still drunk from whiskey they had stolen the night before. Love reported that some of their prisoners were so drunk that they had to lift them on board the train.⁷⁵

After arriving at Jonesboro, Captain Love was approached by two local ladies who complained that the Federals had looted their home. The distraught women complained that the most prized possessions stolen from them were two rings given to them by their dead brother, a Confederate soldier. When the women described their rings, Sergeant Rainey of E Company recalled that he had seen a wounded Federal prisoner with similar rings. Rainey escorted the ladies to the rail car where the wounded cavalryman lay. The women immediately recognized the trooper as one of the men who had ransacked their home and they "secured their rings." The next morning the Confederates found the cavalryman dead.⁷⁶

On 2 September Atlanta fell to Sherman, the Army of Tennessee was no longer able to halt Sherman's relentless army of nearly limitless resources of manpower and equipment. Hood's battered army simply was not big enough. In the 128 days of the Atlanta campaign, the Confederates had lost an appalling 35,000 soldiers. General Hood himself lost 18,000 in his first ten days of command.⁷⁷

After evacuating Atlanta, Hood concentrated what was left of the Army of Tennessee at Lovejoy's station. There he produced a plan to draw Sherman out of Georgia by attacking his supply lines. On September 30th, the 48th crossed the Chattahoochee River on a pontoon bridge at Pumpkin Town, Georgia, heading north.⁷⁸ The Army of Tennessee was starting off on what the 48th's veterans would not so fondly call "Hood's Raid."⁷⁹

Endnotes

¹ William R. Scaife, *The Campaign for Atlanta*, (Saline, Michigan: McNaughton and Gunn, 1993) Campaign map.

² OR 38, III, 653. Colonel Voorhies exact whereabouts are unknown, but he did have some health problems and his records in the Archives show a request for furlough due to ill health.

³ Ibid., 39.

⁴ Doggett, 26 May 1864.

⁵ Ibid., 29 May 1864.

⁶ OR 38, III, 639.

⁷ Watkins, 164. Watkins knew many of the 48th troops and was with them at New Hope.

⁸ Bailey, 54.

⁹ Castel, 230.

¹⁰ Scaife, 58.

¹¹ OR 38, III, 725.

¹² Ibid., 725.

¹³ *Confederate Veteran*, 1901, 66. W. R. Campbell of the 4th Louisiana.

¹⁴ A. P. Richards, *The Saint Helena Rifles*, ed. Randall Shoemaker (Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 19-24. The 4th La, was part of Quarles' Brigade.

¹⁵ Doggett, 29 May 1864.

¹⁶ OR 38, III, 725.

¹⁷ Sparkman, 67.

¹⁸ Richards, 24-25,

¹⁹ Doggett, 31 May and 1 June 1864.

²⁰ Scaife, 59.

²¹ McMorries, 73.

²² Doggett, 4 June.

²³ Richards, 25.

²⁴ Doggett, 13 June.

²⁵ Watkins, 151.

²⁶ Ibid., 155.

²⁷ Garrett, 95.

- ²⁸ McMoories,
- ²⁹ Sparkman, 69.
- ³⁰ OR 38 III, 930.
- ³¹ Roster of the 48th.
- ³² OR 38 III, 933 & 929, Report of Major Knox, 1st Al Infantry and General Quarles.
- ³³ Scaife, Kennesaw Battle map.
- ³⁴ OR 38 III, 930.
- ³⁵ F. Y. Hedley, *Marching Through Georgia, Pen Pictures of everyday life*, (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry and Company, 1890), 126.
- ³⁶ OR 38 III, 934.
- ³⁷ Johnston, 342.
- ³⁸ Garrett, 7.
- ³⁹ OR 38 III, 934.
- ⁴⁰ Sparkman, 69.
- ⁴¹ Ibid., 69.
- ⁴² Ibid., 69.
- ⁴³ McMorries, 74.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., 74.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., 74.
- ⁴⁶ Roster of the 48th.
- ⁴⁷ McMorries, 75
- ⁴⁸ *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 280.
- ⁴⁹ Sparkman, 71.
- ⁵⁰ Doggett, 16 July 1864.
- ⁵¹ Smith, 100.
- ⁵² OR 38 III, 910
- ⁵³ Smith, 100.
- ⁵⁴ Sparkman, 71.
- ⁵⁵ Smith, 101

⁵⁶ OR 38 III, 942. Colonel O'Neal of Cantey's Brigade characterized the march as "somewhat fatiguing".

⁵⁷ Ibid., 942.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 942.

⁵⁹ Love, 547.

⁶⁰ Castel, 432.

⁶¹ Smith, 102.

⁶² Love, 547.

⁶³ Ibid., 547.

⁶⁴ *Confederate Veteran*, 1898, 125.

⁶⁵ Castel, 433.

⁶⁶ Stephen L. King, *History and Biographical Sketches of the 46th Tennessee Infantry C.S.A.* (Bowling Green, Stephen L. King, 1992), 24.

⁶⁷ Scaife, 184.

⁶⁸ History of Co K, 104.

⁶⁹ OR 38 II, 846. Castel, 472.

⁷⁰ Love, 548.

⁷¹ Ibid., 548.

⁷² Castel, 473. Scaife, 121.

⁷³ Sparkman, 72.

⁷⁴ Garrett, 93.

⁷⁵ Love, 548.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 548.

⁷⁷ Bailey, 137 and 155.

⁷⁸ Sparkman, 74.

⁷⁹ Castel, 552.

CHAPTER SIX

BAREFOOT IN THE SNOW

On the morning of the 15th [December] a detail of Quarles' Brigade had charge of the fort on the Granny White pike under the command of Maj. T. E. Jamison; soon they were attacked by cavalry and followed by infantry. Our men stood heroically, many of them barefooted in the snow, and when overpowered fought with clubbed guns.

Captain Joe Love, *The Civil War in Maury County Tennessee*

Nashville

The 48th along with Quarles' Brigade and their division (Walthall's) remained in the vicinity of Lovejoy's Station until 18 September 1864. On that morning reveille sounded at 2 a.m. and the march then commenced at 5:30. The regiment marched eighteen miles and camped outside Palmetto, Georgia. Eight days later, for the second time in the history of the 48th, the regiment was reviewed by President Davis. Then on 30 September, they started up a very long road with the rest of the Army, back to Tennessee.¹

The 48th's troops had no idea they would going back to Tennessee; they just knew they were headed north. The regiment's first destination was through dense countryside around New Hope Church, their old battlefield. Their target was Sherman's rail line and supply depots. On the 13th of October Sparkman described the destruction of the railroad; "They pile all the crossties and lay the rails across, then burn the crossties and bend the rails." The next day he continued, "The railroad is pretty well torn up from Calhoun to Tunnel Hill, being about thirty miles." That same day the 48th moved west and traversed the Rocky Faced Ridge at Dug-gap and camped at Villanow.²

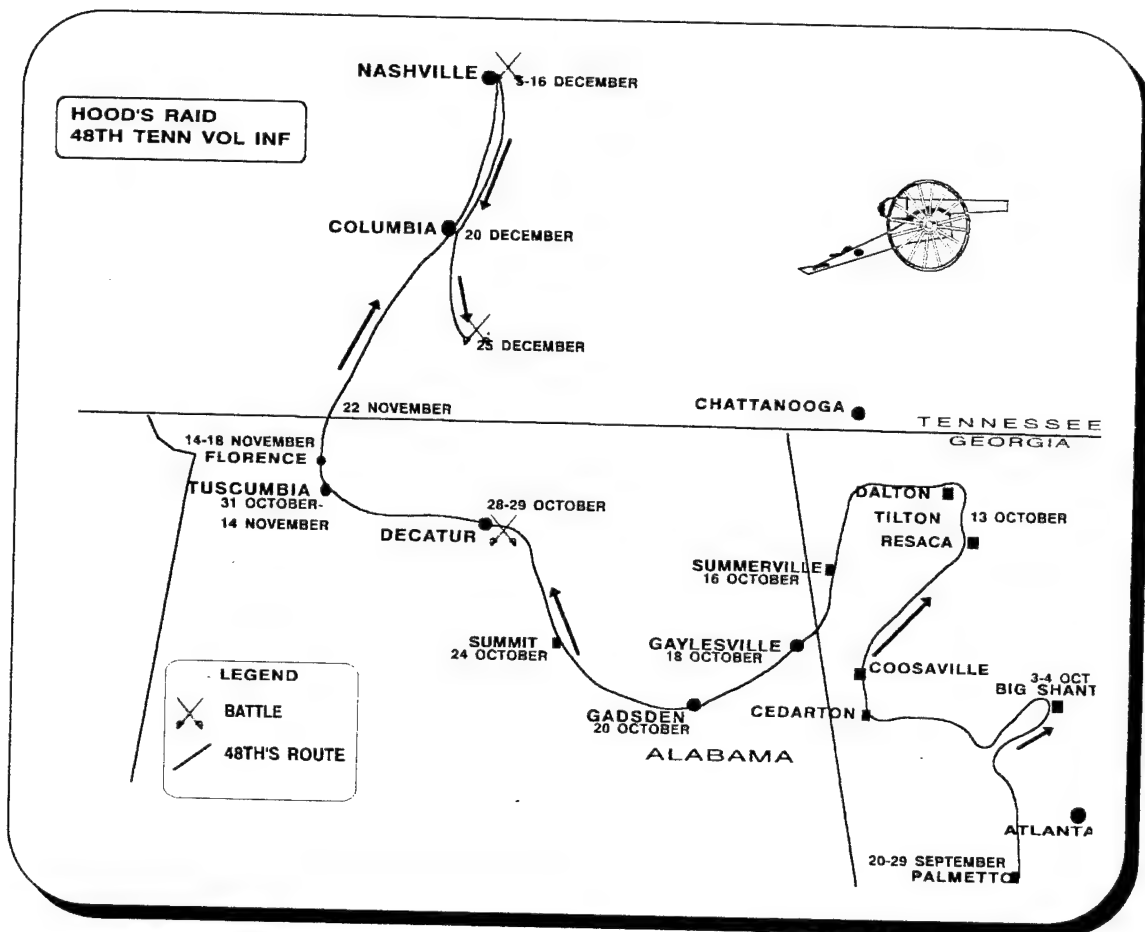


Figure 20. Hood's Raid.

The regiment crossed the Georgia-Alabama border south of Summerville, Georgia on 18 October. The next morning near Gaylesville, Private William A. Smith, known to the regiment as "Willie," was unhappy. Smith awakened that morning to find the weather "very cold" and so he went for his "fine" English overcoat. To his lasting displeasure he discovered he had left the coat near the regiment's mules and the animals had "tore up" the beautiful coat. Smith was a resourceful soldier though, and fashioned his blanket into what he called a "Mexican Overcoat" and continued on.³

On the twenty-first, near Gadsden, Alabama the regiment received new uniforms and there the troops listened to a round of speeches.

Generals Hood, Beauregard, S. D. Lee, and Cheatham all spoke. Hood caused the greatest excitement amongst the Tennessee troops by announcing his plan to return to Tennessee.⁴ Hood wrote the news brought forth a "genuine Confederate shout so familiar to every Southern soldier, and which then betokened an improved state of feeling among the troops."⁵ Unfortunately, the events of Hood's Tennessee campaign would prove the excitement of the Tennesseans completely unjustified.

On a cold wet October twenty-sixth, the regiment finally arrived at Decatur, Alabama. The troops were "drenched through and through" and Private Smith noted the Stars and Stripes flying over the town. In the distance the sound of cannons greeted them, one soldier wrote, "a brisk cannonade already was in progress."⁶

That night, just after dark, the troops were led into a muddy trench line. At 10:00 P.M. they were ordered to advance the line 150 yards. Under the cover of a "gloomy" night, where it was difficult to see more than a few feet, the troops used every digging implement they could find to desperately construct new rifle pits. At dawn the troops went forward in a skirmish line, but after "finding the enemy in force," soon fell back.⁷ A few 48th troops were wounded. Among the brigade's dead was a young Tennessean named Private Pinkney "Pink" Barnett of B company. Pink's brother, Marcus, served with him in B company and must have been nearby when he was killed.⁸

The cold, the rain, the fighting, and a shortage of rations combined to make Decatur an objectionable place to be. Fortunately, the regiment was not required to stay there long. On 28 October, the 48th received new shoes. The next day they were on the move again.⁹

The 48th marched away from Decatur heading west. As they progressed, the regiment's soldiers were struck by the desolation of the local area. Sparkman wrote, "There is fine land here but the Yankees have troubled the citizens so much that they have nearly all left home.

. . . a great deal of the land lying idle."¹⁰ Another one of the 48th's soldiers wrote, "Desolate country. R. R. destroyed. Water bad and scarce. A great many houses burned along the way."¹¹

The 48th Tennessee arrived at Tuscumbia, Alabama on October the thirty-first, having covered 385 miles since the 19th of September.¹² The regiment spent the next two weeks near Tuscumbia, encamped at Spring Creek. Everyday they anticipated the move to Tennessee. Sparkman was impatient, recording: "Lay in the rain and mud thinking every day that we would leave the next. Forage is bad and hard to get. [The men] are very anxious to leave here and go somewhere."¹³

Finally, on the 14th of November, the regiment marched to South Florence located on the Tennessee River. There the regiment was detailed to assist the engineers in building fortifications on the south side of the river. For the next week the troops dug in. Sparkman, who as the Quartermaster did not have to participate in the work, thought it was going slowly. He commented, "The men do not work like they do when the Yanks are pressing them."¹⁴

On the seventeenth, disappointment ran through the ranks. There was bad news from the North. The much anticipated defeat of Lincoln at the polls had failed. A disgusted Sparkman noted Lincoln's opponent, McClellan, won only four states. Things looked up the next day when some of Forrest's cavalrymen, who were passing through, sold captured shoes to the 48th at thirty-five dollars a pair.¹⁵ On 20 November, their work accomplished, the 48th crossed the Tennessee River on a pontoon bridge and embarked on a muddy road north.¹⁶ The next day as they approached the Tennessee state line, the 48th received a foreboding welcome. The weather the night of the twenty-first turned extremely cold.¹⁷

On 22 November, Private Willie Smith rose from another night of sleeping on the cold, hard ground. At sunrise he started marching with

the rest of the regiment. The ground was frozen. Smith noticed foot long icicles hung from the trees, and there was not a house around for miles. He pulled his "Mexican overcoat" closer. Footsore and worn out, the regiment finally crossed the Tennessee line at sundown 22 November 1864.¹⁸ The 48th's soldiers must have been ecstatic; not only were they in Tennessee, but near their homes and farms. Even the 1st Alabama in Quarles' brigade cheered as they crossed the line exuberant, "and willing for any duty or danger, and this was the spirit in the regiment and the army."¹⁹

As the 48th passed near their homes, the regiment was granted furlough for the first time during the war. By the 24th, many of the 48th's troops were on their way home.²⁰ For some of the soldiers it would be their first leave since they enlisted in 1861. Sparkman wrote:

Spent at home the first in 2 years and 9 months. It is indeed very pleasant to be home with relatives and friends and out of sight of the army. They are badly torn up by the Yankees, but not as bad as I expected. I begin to be quite restless and want to be with the army, not because I like the army but there is my duty and I know I have to go.²¹

David, Wilson, and William Henry Trousdale arrived home without their brother Thomas Jefferson. Thomas died from a gunshot wound at a Yankee hospital after Port Hudson.²² The family had seen David, who as a lieutenant had been home on recruiting duty, but not William Henry or young Wilson. Wilson, who was just a boy of sixteen when he enlisted, now returned a ragged veteran. For shoes Wilson wore fresh beef hide tied to his feet. Their father was a well-to-do farmer near Columbia. Their great-grandfather had served as a captain during the Revolutionary War and had been present at the Yorktown surrender. While a number of soldiers in the regiment decided to extend their furloughs through "French leave," (unauthorized leave) the Trousdale boys, like their compatriot Sparkman, would follow the Army of Tennessee to its annihilation.²³

Ironically, on 30 November 1864, Quartermaster Sergeant Sparkman began his fourth year of the war at Columbia; exactly where he had enlisted in 1861. There Sparkman noted a familiar sound in the distance: the booming guns of the U.S. Army in their desperate defense at Franklin, Tennessee.²⁴

While the 48th was on leave, the Army of Tennessee pursued the retreating Union army to Franklin. There, Hood smashed his army in a disastrous frontal attack. Quarles' brigade was in the thick of it. Despite horrendous fire, they gained the enemy works, however most of the brigade was killed or captured. Three of the brigade's regiments lost their colors: the 1st Alabama, the 53rd Tennessee, and the 42nd Tennessee. General Quarles was struck by artillery. The round ripped away the muscle of his left arm and broke his ribs. Every one of his staff officers were killed, and all the field grade officers in the brigade were also lost.²⁵ Forty-six of Quarles' company grade officers were killed, wounded, or captured.²⁶ After this battle, only the 48th Tennessee and the 1st Alabama could still muster as separate regiments within the brigade. So devastating were the casualties that the 42d, 46th, 49th, and 55th Tennessee regiments were consolidated under *Captain* Austin M. Duncan.²⁷ The entire brigade reported only 394 soldiers effective, 200 less than the 48th had at Fort Donelson when Colonel Heiman called them a "skeleton regiment."²⁸ Sadly, for the veterans of Nixon's 48th, General Cleburne was also killed at Franklin.

After the Franklin battle, the Federals fell back again, this time to Nashville. With Quarles wounded, command of the shattered brigade fell to General George D. Johnston. Johnston pushed the shattered brigade on to Nashville with the rest of the army. The Confederate situation there was hopeless, the Federals in the city outnumbered them almost four to one.²⁹

In early December, the regiment slowly straggled back from leave to rejoin to their brigade at Nashville. Quarles' brigade was bivouacked at the foot of Compton's Hill. From the top of the Hill, the troops could see Nashville and its impressive fortifications. It was a different place from when the regiment mustered into Confederate service there in 1861. One soldier commented, "Now the hills were bare of trees and were crowned with heavy forts, the capital stood out clear and distinct with fortifications around it."³⁰

The morning of 8 December brought bitter cold weather. There was a combination of sleet, snow, ice, and a driving wind.³¹ Chaplain M'Neilly recalled the suffering of the few troops who remained in Quarles' Brigade; "The winter set in with great severity with sleet and snow. We were scantily clothed; many of us practically barefoot. We suffered from lack of meal and flour. . . . and we supplemented our rations with parched corn." M'Neilly also observed that the Union and Confederate pickets would taunt each other. In one story he relates,

One evening about dusk a Yankee soldier raised his head above the works and impudently called out "Hello, Johnny, have you parched your supper yet?" Instantly a dozen guns were leveled at him and a profane expletive the answer came: "Duck, you infernal Yank or we will parch you."³²

By the 13th of December, most of the 48th's troops had reported back to Quarles' brigade at Nashville. However, even with the additional 48th troops, the brigade contained only 394 effective soldiers out of 761 present.³³

At Nashville, General Hood's weak plan involved hoping General Thomas's huge Union army would attack him. The general then thought if the Confederates were successful in repulsing Thomas, they then could "follow him into his works and take Nashville."³⁴ Hood had insufficient troops to man the line he wanted the Federals to attack so he decided to protect his left flank with a series of forts or redoubts. Hood designed five redoubts to hold 100 men with artillery in order to,

"resist any effort that might be made to turn the left flank of the army."³⁵

On the early morning of 15 December, the farthest left and most exposed of the redoubts, Redoubt 5, stood unfinished. A dense fog masked the deployment of thousands of Union soldiers as they advanced on the Confederate's vulnerable left flank. The Rebels would have little warning of the approaching storm.³⁶ To hold back the spearhead of the Union columns were just four cannons and a detail of 100 men from Quarles' brigade in Redoubt 5.³⁷

That morning Captain Joe Love, of the 48th, was in command of the garrison working to construct Redoubt 5. Of the troops from Quarles' brigade in the redoubt, approximately thirty of the soldiers were detailed from the 48th.³⁸ Unfortunately for the troops inside the uncompleted and unsupported Redoubt 5, they stood before the thrust of the powerful main Union attack. The Union objective, exactly what Hood had feared, was to turn his left flank by capturing Redoubts 4 and 5.³⁹

When the Federals appeared out of the fog to the left-most redoubt, Quarles' brigade was in bivouac in the vicinity of Compton's house.⁴⁰ The brigade moved rapidly into position in the center of Walthall's line. Walthall's troops were formed behind a stone wall along the Hillsborough Pike. The 48th's Major Thomas E. Jameson arrived at the Fort and relieved Captain Love. As Love left to join his regiment at the nearby stone wall, the massive Union attack started.

General Stewart, commanding the corps that Walthall's division was assigned to, reported the action:

About 11 o'clock the enemy, exposing a large force in my front, concentrated a heavy artillery fire on the redoubt in front of my left and after keeping it up for about an hour, with great damage to the force within, moved upon it with a heavy body of infantry, enveloped the base of the hill, and by assault carried the position, which was well defended.⁴¹

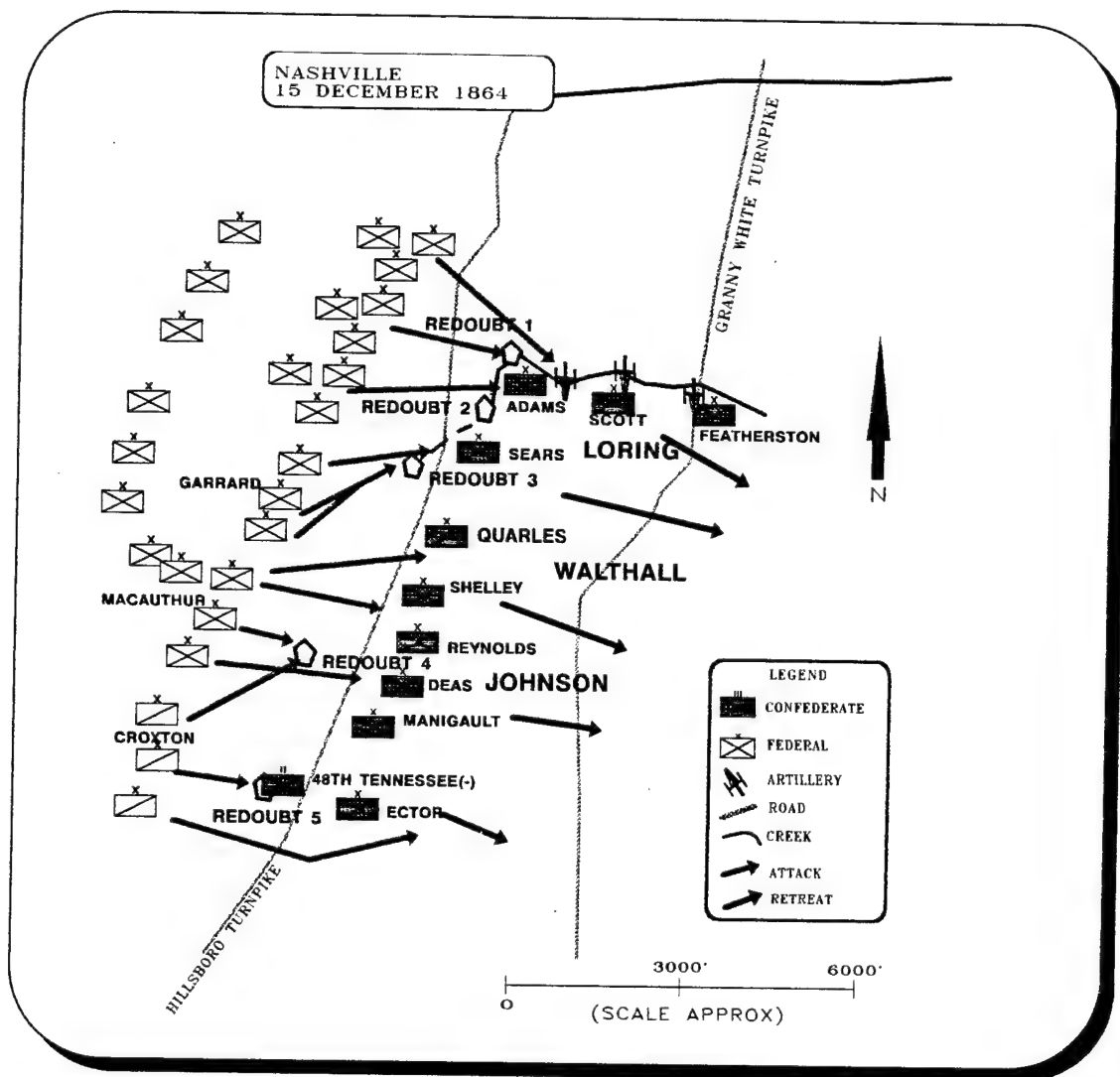


Figure 21. Nashville, 15 December 1864.

The hour-long artillery barrage came from the concentrated fire of twenty-four Union guns; the assaulting troops came from Coon's cavalry brigade and MacArthur's Division.⁴² Love wrote that Redoubt 5 was first assaulted by dismounted cavalry and then infantry. A Yankee colonel reported the four Confederate Napoleons in the fort fired, "grape and canister, [while] accompanied by heavy musketry from the infantry,"⁴³ There were too few defenders in the fort and the Yankees quickly closed. When the Federals swarmed over the works, the fighting

became hand to hand. Private Abijah Stipes shot down a Federal color bearer who planted his flag on the works.⁴⁴ The Federals shot Major Jameson down.⁴⁵ The Rebels were overwhelmed and the shouting Yankees demanded their surrender. Most of Quarles' men threw down their arms. A few escaped, but not many. Some refused to surrender and sprinted down the hill to safety.⁴⁶

Sergeant William Trousdale of E company added to his reputation as a tough soldier. When the Federals enveloped the fort, he literally clubbed his way through Union troops and then outran a hail of bullets. When Trousdale found his regiment, he had been hit over the head and his clothes showed several bullet holes, but he still retained his knapsack and rifle. Only one other 48th soldier, Charley Jones, was able to escape from the redoubt.⁴⁷

Under threat of death, the Federals forced the Gray cannoners to swing their guns around and fire on their retreating comrades. The Yankees then began to celebrate and taunt their prisoners. Mike Crantz of the 42d Tennessee responded by pointing down the hill at Union dead and saying, "Well, you needn't brag; we killed more of you than there are of us." An enraged Federal soldier immediately bayoneted Crantz, declaring, "You shall not live to tell it."⁴⁸

Redoubt Number 4, after a strong defense by the Confederates inside, fell as well. Redoubt 4 was located to the front and left of the 48th's position, behind the stone wall. Soon after its capture, the Federals concentrated their artillery fire on the Confederate brigades posted behind the stone wall.⁴⁹

Captain Love observed the 48th's rapidly deteriorating situation, stating that the Yankees in the Redoubt 4, "turned our own guns on us, and a brigade of the enemy was rapidly moving to our left flank."⁵⁰

The Union troops, advancing to the left of Quarles' brigade were from MacArthur's division, and had overrun Redoubts 4 and 5. The

48th's brigade had been holding its position well against the Union frontal attacks, but now disaster struck.⁵¹ With the fall of the redoubts, the Federals soon appeared behind the stone wall and Walthall's division was essentially flanked. By 1:30 p.m., Walthall's division was driven back from the wall and falling back to new positions along the Granny White Pike.⁵² The 48th fell back in good order through a field of newly plowed ground, which slowed their movement. In that field Captain Church had "his leg shot off." The twenty-two year old regimental color bearer, William Craig, was gunned down.⁵³ The troops managed to drag Captain Church out with them but not the young Craig. Nor were they able to save young John Black from Hickman County. The captured Black died soon after Federal surgeons removed his arm.⁵⁴

The Confederate retreat was not a rout. Nightfall brought an end to the fighting and the exhausted Confederates spent a sleepless night preparing new lines.⁵⁵ The Brigade's new position was along the Granny White Pike facing northwest.⁵⁶

The next day was rainy, and the regiment occupied a very poor position in Hood's line. Without any natural protection, they were posted at the base of Shy's Hill (See Figure 22). The frozen ground and prompt arrival of the Yankees ensured the 48th's earthworks were inadequate to protect them. Fortunate troops to the right of the brigade had the protection of a stone fence. Troops to their left had some protection due to the elevation of the hill. The few remaining 48th soldiers were forced to lay on the cold ground for protection from the terrific fire. Finally the Federals launched an assault that came within 75 yards of the regiment's line. Lieutenant William B. Wood of K company had an arm and part of his other hand shot away by an artillery round. As the day wore on, the Rebel troops were subjected to a heavy cannonading and were "annoyed by constant fire" from Union sharpshooters.⁵⁷

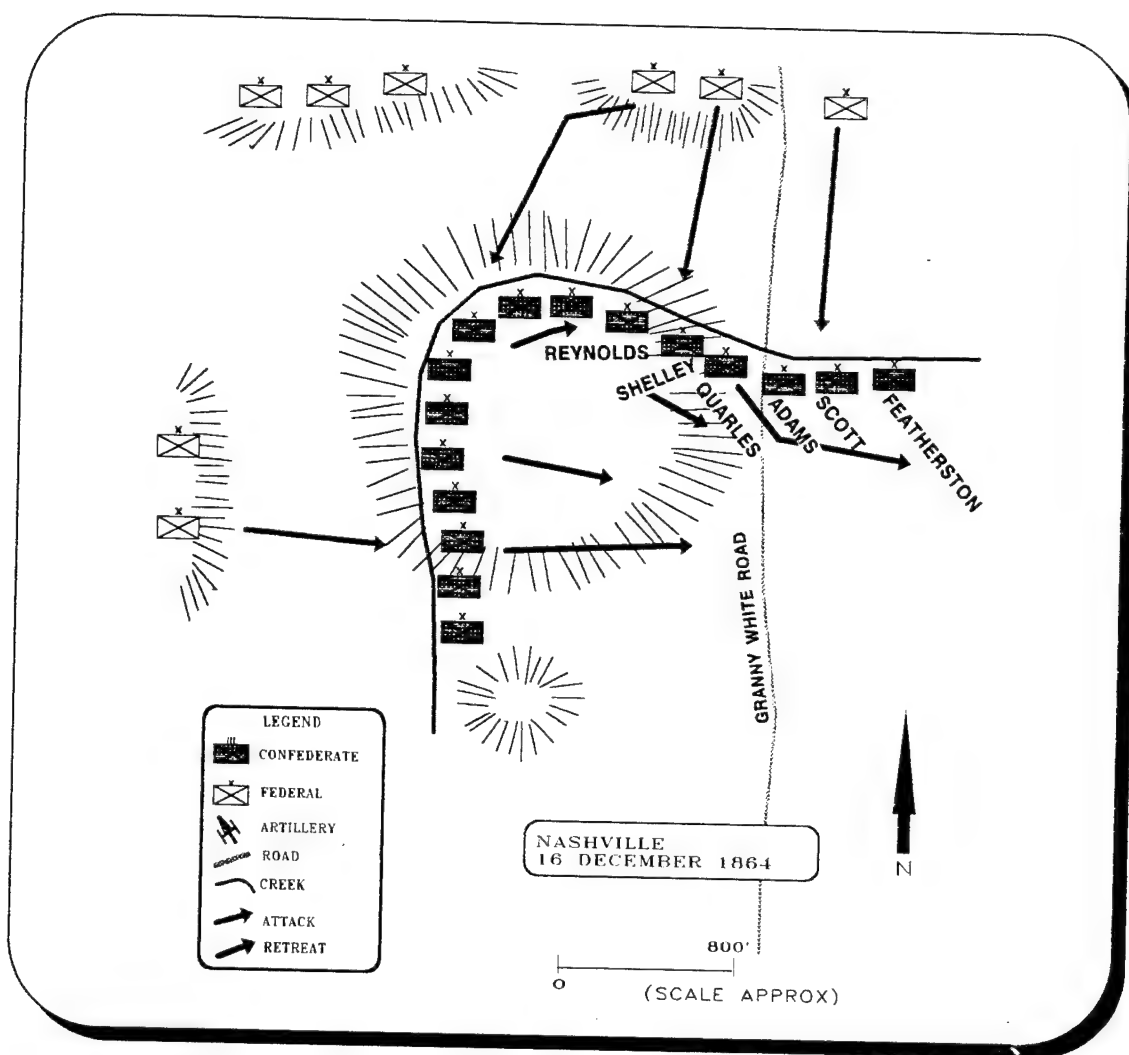


Figure 22. Nashville, 16 December 1864.

In the drizzling rain, the troops of the 48th could plainly see Federals moving to encircle their position. About 4:00 p.m., Walthall's division was attacked again. On Shy's hill, to the regiment's left, some of the most desperate fighting of the war was raging. The Confederates were making a courageous last stand effort. Just as the attack on Walthall was being forced back, the defense on Shy's Hill collapsed. The regiment watched in awe as the Blue tide washed over the gray troops and "the line give way on the hill above [them]."⁵⁸ The Confederates in Stewart's corps were so intent in watching the battle on

Shy's Hill, that their pickets failed to observe that the Federals were launching another frontal attack on their position. Rebel skirmishers waited too long to abandon their position. Their compatriots on the line could not fire on the Yankees for fear of hitting their own men. The Union Commander described the pickets, "as a blanket to shield us from the fire of the main enemy line." The entire Confederate defense began to collapse⁵⁹

Meanwhile, the Confederates on the hill were being pushed back behind the 48th's division. One observer said the Confederates "poured over in clouds behind Walthall, which of course forced him to give way and then by brigades the whole line from left to right [gave way]."⁶⁰ The Federals were soon firing into the backs of Rebel troops on the main line.

As the 48th pulled out of the line, the heavy enemy fire brought down Colonel Voorhies.⁶¹ The old Colonel was too hurt to move and he was soon captured by the 119th Illinois.⁶² Walthall reported, "Everywhere within my view the disorder was great and general, but it was inevitable, the surroundings considered." There were no field grade officers left in the 48th to rally the troops, command fell to Captain Joe Love.

With the confusion of broken Confederate regiments streaming back, and severe enemy fire coming from all directions, the withdrawal became a muddled group of fleeing Rebels. Little organization existed; it seemed every man for himself. The cold, wet, beaten, and half-starved Rebels of Quarles' brigade were caught in the middle.

Walthall withdrew his division and the regiments in Quarles' brigade fell back to their right, along and behind the Confederate line. At first the troops walked backwards, firing as they went. The slow pace of their withdrawal allowed the attacking Union forces to close the distance. Soon, large numbers of the enemy were nearly on top of

Quarles' troops. The pressure was too much for weary Confederates. Many of the troops surrendered, but others threw down accouterments and made a run for it. The running gray soldiers were exposed to enemy fire for a great distance. One soldier who did run explained, "soldiers of experience know it often requires greater bravery to run than to charge a fort."⁶³ It was not until nightfall that the 48th made it to the temporary safety of the Franklin Pike.

Private Benjamin Pinkney Pullen of Lawrence County was left behind and subsequently captured. The Federals had to carry him in a wagon to Nashville because of his frost bitten feet.⁶⁴ Private James S. Evans was also captured. Later, at a Federal Prison Camp, Evans claimed he was conscripted by the Rebels and had always been a "true and loyal Union man." Evans stated he had voluntarily surrendered at Nashville and "through some unaccountable mistake" was taken prisoner of war. Evans may have been telling the truth, but the Yankees did not believe his story. Evans was not released from Camp Douglas until 13 May 1865⁶⁵

Many of the regiment's best soldiers were captured at Nashville. Almost all of them were veterans from 1861; soldiers like Private Harrison P. West and Sergeant William Ivy, who were both cited for bravery at Chickamauga, and forty-three year old Carrol Green Fitzgerald who earlier could have avoided service due to his age. There were others: twenty-seven year old Willie S. Kincade, from Nixon's regiment, who was wounded at Perryville and a veteran of all the army's campaigns, and privates E. W. Tucker and Alexander Hodge. These last two who never missed a muster from their enlistment to Perryville, and Chickamauga through Atlanta, until their capture on the 16th of December.⁶⁶ Sparkman, who almost always accurately estimated the situation of the army, wrote a bitter summary:

This is the second time Gen. Hood has made a grand failure in Tennessee from some cause. We are badly whipped at Nashville losing a great many men mostly captured also a great deal of ordnance and

artillery. I believe this army is the worst demoralized it ever was. . . .

Nashville was the end of the 48th as an effective regiment. Many of the regiment's soldiers were killed, wounded, or on their way to prison. The senior leadership was gone. The Army of Tennessee was devastated. The weather was bitter cold and there was little to eat. It took a very tough soldier to shoulder his rifle and march down the muddy road away from the warm fires of home. Desertions shot up as the regiment retreated from Tennessee.⁶⁷

The destruction of Quarles' brigade was almost complete. On 21 December, the records show only 87 effectives left in the *entire* brigade.⁶⁸ One of the brigade's regiments, the 49th Tennessee, could only muster six men.⁶⁹ Despite the appalling situation facing the 48th after Nashville, there were iron men who refused to acknowledge defeat and stayed with the Army of Tennessee on its march to oblivion.

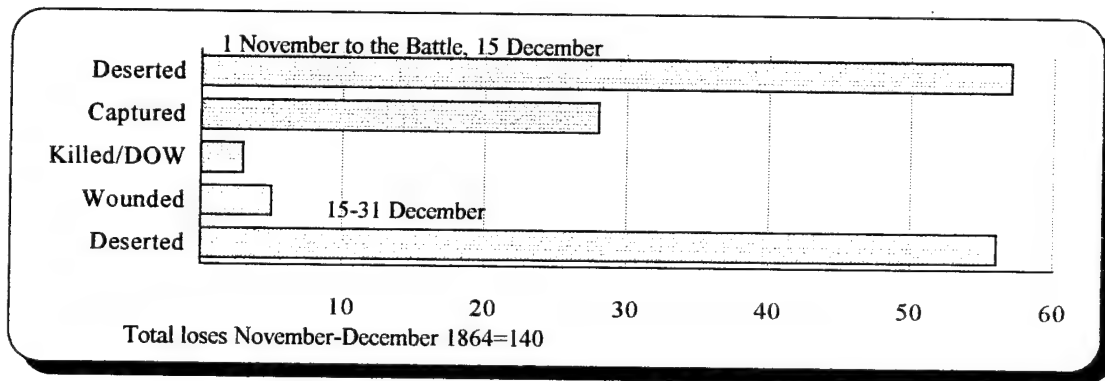


Figure 22. 48th Losses, November-December 1864

The Rear Guard

On the 16th the 48th retreated to Brentwood, about five miles away, where Walthall tried to "gather up fragments of his broken forces." By 3 A.M. on the 17th they were in Franklin.⁷⁰ The 48th had managed to get some of their wounded away from the battlefield to Franklin, but that would not save them from the relentless Yankees.

When the Rebels evacuated the town, among the wounded left to the Federals were Captain Church, Lieutenant Wood, and General Quarles. The regiment carried Private James Scott as far as Columbia, but left him there. Scott was so severely wounded that he remained in a Union Hospital for the next three months.⁷¹

The Federals were in hot pursuit of Hood's army. The Rebel cavalry, under Nathan Bedford Forrest, could not stave off the onrushing Union troops for long without help. Forrest wanted the competent Walthall with infantry to join him. On the twentieth of December, General Hood asked Walthall to command the infantry rear guard. Hood explained to Walthall, "It is a post of great honor, but one of such great peril that I will not impose it on you unless you are willing to take it. . . ."⁷² The young Walthall agreed to accept the almost impossible mission. but Forrest, reassured, optimistically responded with, "Now we will keep them back."⁷³

The eight shattered brigades Walthall selected for the rear guard barely totaled 1,600 men. Quarles' brigade was among those chosen to hold back the massive and victorious Union army.⁷⁴ Due to the agonizing losses in Quarles' brigade, Walthall consolidated it with Featherston's brigade for the rear guard action.⁷⁵

On 20 December, the 48th, as part of the rear guard, was at Columbia while Hood's ruined army moved south. The weather worsened the next day, with heavy snow, sleet, and intense cold. The roads were mired in mud and covered with a frozen crust, which broke through from the weight of soldiers and animals. The bridges were all destroyed and the approaches to fords and pontoon bridges were described as defying description, "with mud knee-deep, and dead horses and mules making stepping places for the soldiers."⁷⁶ Rations and fuel were scarce.⁷⁷

On December twenty-second the Federals were pressing hard. The 48th fell back toward Mrs. Mitchell's house, two and one half miles from

Lynnville. They remained there until the morning of the 24th, when the rearguard advanced northward to slow the Federals. Their advance resulted in an intense, four-hour skirmish, after which the Rebels fell back to Richland Creek. From Richland Creek they moved to the earthworks around Pulaski, arriving there the night of the 24th.

Sergeant Sparkman and his quartermaster wagon crossed the Tennessee border on Christmas Eve, 1864. Behind him were his family, friends, and his regiment. Sparkman lamented on his departure, "Tennessee is the finest country I have yet soldiered in and the people are very kind to Rebel soldiers. I have left Tennessee several times, but I left with more reluctance this time than ever before. I fear the army is ruined."⁷⁸

At Pulaski, "After destroying everything that could not be gotten away, including two trains of cars, at daylight on the 25th [the troops] fell back again."⁷⁹ The roads out of Pulaski were almost impenetrable. The rearguard started to overtake their retreating army. Walthall detailed the situation in his official report:

The roads were almost impassable, and the artillery and the few wagons which made up our train were moved with great difficulty. We soon began to overhaul straggling wagons belonging to the train of the main army. The enemy . . . began to press with boldness and vigor. It was determined to turn upon him.⁸⁰

Turn they did. On Christmas day 1864, the 48th was in an ambush site near Anthony's Hill, Tennessee. The rearguard had been in contact with the enemy for much of the past thirty-six hours. The regiment was still with Featherston's command and was well-concealed in a dense wood when the Union cavalry approached. At 1:00 p.m., Federal cavalry drove in the Rebel pickets. The Union commander dismounted the 7th Ohio, 16th Illinois, and the 5th Iowa cavalry regiments. The dismounted troops, supported by artillery, pushed up the road toward the hill.⁸¹

The Confederate trap was sprung, with the Rebel infantrymen delivering a destructive fire on the Federal cavalry. The Blue troopers were completely stunned. The Union commander reported:

[his troops were moving] upon the enemy most gallantly, when suddenly he opened from a masked battery of three guns and charged over his works, in two lines of infantry and a column of cavalry, down the main road. Before this overpowering force my men were obliged to fall back. . . I regret to state that Company I, 4th U.S. Artillery, were obliged to abandon one gun and limber at this time.⁸²

The Yankees lost a twelve pound Napoleon, a number of horses and two-hundred killed, wounded and captured. That night Walthall marched his rearguard on to Sugar Creek. By the end of Christmas Day, 1864, the 48th Tennessee regiment had fought a battle and marched 25 miles.⁸³

The rearguard stung the Federals again at Sugar Creek on the 26th, but the 48th was not engaged.⁸⁴ On the 28th, Walthall ordered Featherson's troops across the Tennessee River at Bainbrigde. The rearguard mission was over. Forrest's and Walthall's rearguard action was the only successful aspect of "Hood's Raid." The 1,600 gray infantry, of which the 48th formed but a small part exhibited incredible endurance and bravery in the face of overwhelming force. The rearguard saved what was left of the Army of Tennessee.⁸⁵

North Carolina

The regiment marched first to Corinth, then on to Tupelo, Mississippi. Tupelo had been burned by the Federals, but on the tenth of January the army went into camp there. Sparkman noted that on the fourteenth the regiment, "Drew tents and fixed up an old fashioned infantry encampment."⁸⁶

General Hood relinquished command of the Army on 23 January. Shortly thereafter, what was left of the Army of Tennessee started east to join their old, revered Commander, General Joe Johnston. The regiment remained in the vicinity of Tupelo until 30 January when they

moved out with Quarles' brigade, in Walthall's division of Stewart's corps. Their destination was North Carolina, where they would again confront their old enemy, Sherman.⁸⁷

General Johnston reported that only 5,000 soldiers from the Army of Tennessee reached him in North Carolina. Among them were just thirteen men and six officers from the 48th Tennessee.⁸⁸ Approximately 200 or so men left in Quarles' brigade arrived at Kinston, North Carolina on the morning of 10 March. They were there with Walthall to reinforce 6,000 troops under Braxton Bragg, who was making a stand just east of the town. Bragg had captured two Union regiments on the 8th, but there was a lull in the fighting on the ninth, and the Federals had time to prepare for a renewed Rebel attack.

That morning, Sergeant William Trousdale and Captain Joe Love stood together by the roadside in very unfamiliar country near Kinston. Just an hour before, the regiment had gotten off the train, marched two miles, and then occupied some unfinished entrenchments. The tough sergeant had his rifle in hand and wore his knapsack. During the war, Trousdale developed a habit of never stacking his rifle or removing his knapsack while on the march. During rest halts, Trousdale would place his rifle across his chest and recline on his knapsack. Now he and Love were hoping to intercept Trousdale's young brother Wilson (who served as a courier on General George D. Johnston's staff) to gain some idea of their situation. The answer came quickly, but not through Wilson. From where Love and Trousdale stood they could see Johnston mounted on his horse when General Walthall rode up and delivered an order: "General you will find the enemy in your front," Walthall said.⁸⁹

Commands rang out, the troops grabbed their muskets and immediately rushed into a battle line. Then came the order, "Forward march!" The gray clad troops of the 48th advanced over their breastworks and waded through a three-foot deep lagoon. When they

encountered Union pickets, they drove them in. Soon they struck the main Federal line, hidden in the dense vegetation. With heavy fire to their front, Love suddenly noticed an enemy flanking movement. Just as Love turned to look, Sergeant Trousdale was struck down. Captain Love somberly related the details:

William Trousdale had just fired or had his rifle in position to deliver his fire, just as I turned to him I saw him sink down upon his knapsack, the life blood gushing from a cruel wound in his neck with his nerveless hands folded across his breast upon which rest his rifle just as was his wont, when a halt was made for rest. [An] Order came just then to move rapidly to the left and we left him there.

The loss of Trousdale was a great blow to Love, who said Sergeant Trousdale was a born soldier who represented the "highest idea of the Christian hero--none were ever braver, none more cheerful in the discharge of duty, nor more patriotic."⁹⁰ After the war veterans named United Confederate Veterans Camp, Number 495, after Sergeant William H. Trousdale.⁹¹

The Confederate Corps Commander, D. H. Hill reported Walthall's troops had driven some of the Union soldiers from their works. Walthall's attack was unsupported. He was forced to withdraw his soldiers "in perfect order."⁹² That night the Confederates fell back to Kinston. The Federals did not pursue, but fell back as well.⁹³

When the 48th left Kinston, Private John S. Haggard was missing. Haggard soon turned up in Federal hands. On the 20th of March, Haggard wanted to see the Federal general of the troops which held him. Private Haggard claimed that he was not a Rebel, but a United States soldier belonging to the 2nd Tennessee Mounted Infantry (US). He further stated he was captured by the Rebels in October of 1864 and pressed into service with the 48th. It must have been hard for the Federals to believe that Haggard had been at Nashville, with the rearguard after Nashville, and then made the long trip to North Carolina and was unable to escape. Skeptical Federal authorities shipped Haggard off to Prison

at Point Lookout, Maryland. There, Haggard tried the story on a new general with the same results. The Yankees did not release Haggard until mid-May, along with the Confederate prisoners.⁹⁴

As for the truth about Private John Haggard, it seems unlikely that the Confederates could have kept him against his will for over five months. The records show however, that Haggard enlisted in the 48th in 1861 and deserted when the Confederates pulled out of Middle Tennessee in 1863. Haggard did serve in the 2nd Tennessee (US).⁹⁵ He probably had a change of heart when the Confederates returned to Tennessee, and decided to rejoin his old outfit.

Captain Love marched the few men left in the 48th onward to the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina the last major battle of the war. Their brigade was still commanded by G. D. Johnston. At sunrise on the 19th of March, the 48th left Bentonville to meet the enemy one last time. They were placed in a line of battle, to the left of Reynold's brigade, near the road leading from Bentonville. On the first day of the battle, Quarles' brigade contained only ninety-one men, about fifteen percent of those were from the 48th Tennessee.⁹⁶

The order to advance came at 2:45 p.m. on the 19th of March. They were engaging their old foe, Sherman, once again. It had been seven months since the Union troops had looked over their gun barrels at the Army of Tennessee. The Federals were behind earthworks, but the Confederates did not hesitate, and the 48th overran the Union defenses. Brigadier General Johnston reported, "The attack was made with the right spirit and good order under heavy artillery and small-arm fire, and two of the enemy's lines of battle were driven promptly from their position and from the field."⁹⁷ Heavy fire from Quarles' troops caused the Yankees to abandon two cannon as Quarles' troops passed over them.⁹⁸ The victorious Rebels pursued the Yankees for over a mile, then

reformed. Walthall's troops continued the advance, but were met by Confederate troops that had been forced back by a Union counter attack.

A fresh Federal brigade under Cogswell had swung into action and caught the farthest advance of Confederate General D. H. Hill's attack in the flank. Some of Hill's troops were cut off, including the 26th Tennessee. The 33d Massachusetts took their colors.⁹⁹ Hill reported, "The disaster would have been much greater had not General Walthall arrived in time to check the Yankee advance."¹⁰⁰

The Federals marched on the 48th's small brigade in a heavy force. General G. D. Johnston quickly selected the best position available and waited for the advancing enemy. Within minutes, they were engaged with blue clad troops from Cogswell's brigade.¹⁰¹ For two hours the rebels held the Federals back. Johnston reported, "The contest was very stubborn, the enemy bringing up two lines of battle or more; but not an inch was given them, and not a straggler along the line was to be seen. The men fought with exceeding gallantry and coolness."¹⁰²

Ironically, the 20th Connecticut of Cogswell's brigade reported that despite the most determined efforts of the Confederates to drive their men from the field, they stood "firm as a rock neither flinching, not giving an inch of ground."¹⁰³ The 33rd Massachusetts claimed they withstood a most "terrific fire of the enemy's main line."¹⁰⁴ Cogswell himself reported he was hotly engaged by the Confederates until 8:30 p.m.¹⁰⁵ The 48th pulled back at 11:30 p.m. when they were ordered back to their original start position.¹⁰⁶ For Quarles' tiny brigade, the casualties were a high 26 percent during the engagement.¹⁰⁷

The ferocious Rebel attack stunned Sherman's troops. They had not faced such fierce opposition since Atlanta. Sherman was disinclined to renew the battle. For two days the two armies skirmished while the Confederates stood their ground. Finally, on the 22nd, the Federals

awakened to find that in the best tradition of the Atlanta campaign, General Joe Johnston's army had disappeared on them.¹⁰⁸

Surrender

After Bentonville, the 48th, along with the remnants of the Army of Tennessee, retreated toward Smithfield, North Carolina. The Federals did not pursue. The Rebels felt victorious and General Johnston wrote that Bentonville restored the confidence of his Tennessee troops.¹⁰⁹

The regiment spent from March twenty-sixth to April ninth just north of Smithfield Station. They were there when Love and the 48th's Adjutant, Lieutenant Will Polk, heard that the Confederate Congress "has at last put the Negroes into the service."¹¹⁰ The two officers promptly asked for General Cheatham's permission to raise black regiments, an action Cheatham approved and sent on to the Confederate War Department. Unfortunately for the two ambitious officers, the War Department would not exist long enough to answer their request.¹¹¹

On 9 April, the 48th was consolidated into the 4th Tennessee Consolidated Regiment. It took the remnants of twelve Tennessee regiments (the 2d, 3d, 10th, 15th, 18th, 20th, 26th, 30th, 32nd, 37th, 45th, and 48th), to form the 4th. The *Official Record* does not list the 48th as being part of the 4th, but Union records show that the 48th's soldiers surrendered with the 4th Consolidated Tennessee.¹¹²

On April the eleventh, the survivors of the 48th were in Raleigh, North Carolina. The few soldiers left were impressed with the town and its residents. Young women offered them food and water. Sparkman said, "We seldom see so much sympathy shown to the army more especially when they are retreating leaving them at the mercy of our enemies."¹¹³

By the twelfth, the regiment had learned of Lee's surrender, what one 48th soldier called "a death blow to the Southern Confederacy."¹¹⁴ On the sixteenth, the regiment was camped outside of Greensboro. Soon

the troops started to believe that they would be surrendered as well. Sparkman wrote, "Everybody is well satisfied that we will be surrendered as soon as the terms of surrender can be arranged. I wish it was over then I would not be on suspense."¹¹⁵ By April nineteenth, the troops were told that General Johnston "had obtained an armistice for ten days."¹¹⁶ Finally, on the twenty-eighth of April, the order came. Sergeant Sparkman copied the order, "it being probably the last one we will ever receive from our beloved Commander; some think he is superior to Gen. Lee".¹¹⁷

The seventeen 48th soldiers who surrendered at Greensboro received one dollar and twenty-nine cents in silver as their last pay. On the twenty-ninth they turned their arms over to the Federals, and on May third they started home.¹¹⁸

Most of the 48th's soldiers who were still on duty at the end of the war were not surrendered at Greensboro. The archives show another thirty-nine sick, wounded, detached, furloughed and reluctant to surrender troops. All of the above groups of soldiers were captured in varied locations throughout the South. Lieutenant Evan Shelby Roan was captured at Macon on the twentieth and as was Private Henry Cox. Private George Dawson was captured at "Hood's Hospital" in Cuthbert, Georgia. One of the 48th's drummers, William Nix, surrendered in North Carolina, but not until the first of May. Of the two surviving Trousdale brothers, Wilson surrendered at Greensboro, but his brother David would not wait for the formal surrender and started home. (David was later captured at Bainbridge, Tennessee). Lieutenant Elijah Parsons, who had been wounded at both Chickamauga and Lovejoy's Station, surrendered at Meridian, Mississippi on the sixteenth of May.

The last man to surrender was Private James D. Throgmorton. Throgmorton had been captured in May of 1863 and paroled in time to rejoin the regiment in North Carolina. Throgmorton was left sick at

Charlotte on the eleventh of March and later gave up on 22 May at Johnsonville, Tennessee.

At the surrender there were still at least ninety 48th soldiers in Federal prisons. Most of the 48th's enlisted men were released from captivity in May, but the officers were held longer. Colonel Voorhies was not released from Johnson's Island until July.¹¹⁹

The human tragedy did not stop just because the war had ended. Three of the 48th's soldiers died in Federal prisons after the surrender; included was Private G. W. Hashbarger, a faithful soldier who never missed a muster. He was captured at Kennesaw and died on the 23rd of May.¹²⁰ Thirty-two year old John McKennon, who is remembered for killing a Union sharpshooter at Dug Gap died from war wounds on 1 January 1866. McKennon left a widow and a seven year old son.¹²¹

The Return to Tennessee

After the surrender, the troops at Greensboro were allowed to retain a few weapons to protect themselves from "bushwhackers," and on the 3rd of May they started the long march home. Within days they became footsore and strung out along the road. Sparkman complained, "The soldiers straggle worse than I ever saw them before."¹²²

Wilson Trousdale, who lost his brother at Kinston, initially thought he was more fortunate than his comrades. Under the terms of the surrender he was allowed to keep his horse and side arm. His luck failed him, and he was recaptured by some corrupt Yankees who robbed him of everything he owned, including his hat, shoes, horse and parole paper.¹²³

The paroled troops finally arrived at home around the end of May. They found their homes and farms in ruin. The livestock had been stolen or destroyed and any slaves they owned had been freed. Sparkman wrote that the countryside around Columbia was, "very badly torn up and . . .

a great many fine farms [were] lying idle with the fences burnt."¹²⁴ W. W. Stanley, who made the long trek from Greensboro to Columbia found he no longer had a home. His father had been killed by the Federals in 1862 at Wartrace and the family had been forced to sell the farm to pay debts. Stanley wrote that his experience in the war, "made a terrible impression on my mind that can never be erased. It hardened my heart so that nothing but the love of God could change it."¹²⁵

Quartermaster Sergeant John Sparkman is the only 48th Soldier who kept a preserved diary to the end of the war. It is perhaps fitting to close this thesis with his final war entry:

May 24th. Arrived at home. . . I have been a soldier for three and half years and the more I saw of a soldier's life the less I liked. Through the providence of God I have been spared to see the end of the war and be at home and subject to no ones orders; for which I am very thankful and never expect to leave again as a soldier. Those may go who like the business if there are any such to be found and I have no doubt there will be plenty in the next twelve months. I feared before I got home to find things unsettled but from what I hear I hope all will try to live in peace and let past times be as near forgotten as possible.¹²⁶

Endnotes

¹ Daniel P. Smith, *Company K, First Alabama Regiment*. Prattville Alabama: locally published, 1885.

² Sparkman, 76.

³ Smith, 19 October 1864.

⁴ Ibid., 22 October 1864.

⁵ Hood, 271.

⁶ Sparkman, 77.

⁷ Smith, 112.

⁸ Archives, Garrett, 22.

⁹ Sparkman, 76.

¹⁰ Ibid., 77.

¹¹ Smith, 29 and 30 October.

¹² Smith, 113.

¹³ Sparkman, 77.

¹⁴ Ibid., 77.

¹⁵ Smith, 18 November.

¹⁶ Ibid., 14 November 1864. Sparkman, 77.

¹⁷ Smith, 117.

¹⁸ Smith, 22 November.

¹⁹ Smith, 116.

²⁰ Smith, 24 November.

²¹ Sparkman, 24 Nov.

²² Archives.

²³ General Karl Truesdell, USA, *The Trousdale Genealogy*, (New York: J. B. Trousdale, 1960), 28 and 54.

²⁴ Sparkman, 79.

²⁵ O.R. 45, 685. Sword, 219.

²⁶ O.R. XLV, 726.

²⁷ Ibid., 666.

²⁸ Ibid., 729.

²⁹ Paul H. Stockdale, *The Death of an Army: The Battle of Nashville and Hood's Retreat*. (Murfreesboro: Southern Heritage Press, 1992), 42.

³⁰ *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 252.

³¹ Dr. W. J. Worsham, *The Old Nineteenth Tennessee Regiment C.S.A.*, (Oxford, Mississippi: The Guild Bindery Press, 1992), 151.

³² *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 251.

³³ O.R. XLV, 680.

³⁴ Hood, 300.

³⁵ O.R. XLV, 722.

³⁶ *Southern Bivouac*, Aug 1885, 169.

³⁷ O.R. XLV, 722. Stockdale, 51. Walthall says there were 2 cannon in Redoubt 5, but the Federals report capturing 4 guns.

³⁸ Love, 548.

³⁹ Stockdale, 38. O.R. XLV, 709. *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 252. Exact makeup of the detail by regiment is not known, but M'Nielly wrote 15 or 16 soldiers from his regiment. Smith of the 1st Alabama says there were sharpshooters from his regiment in the redoubt. The 48th probably made up a larger number in the Fort as Major Jameson was in command and after Franklin the 48th was the strongest regiment in the brigade.

⁴⁰ O.R. XLV, 721.

⁴¹ Ibid., 722.

⁴² Stockdale, 50-51.

⁴³ Ibid., 51. From Colonel Datus E. Coon, who's Union brigade overran Redoubt number 5.

⁴⁴ Garrett, 327. Stipes was captured.

⁴⁵ Love, 549. Jameson was badly wounded in the thigh and spent the rest of the war in prison.

⁴⁶ *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 252.

⁴⁷ Garrett and Lightfoot, 228-229. Love, 548.

⁴⁸ *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 252. Stockdale, 51.

⁴⁹ Stockdale, 52.

⁵⁰ Love, 549.

⁵¹ Smith, 126. Horn, 414.

⁵² David Nevin, *Sherman's March, Atlanta to the Sea* (Alexandria: Time Life Books, 1986) 133.

⁵³ Love, 549.

⁵⁴ Archives. Church was captured along with General Quarles when the Federals recaptured Franklin.

⁵⁵ Wiley Sword, *The Confederacy's Last Hurrah, Spring Hill, Franklin and Nashville*. (University of Kansas Press, 1992) 370. *The Southern Bivouac*, August 1885, 169. By Major D.F. Sanders of French's staff.

⁵⁶ Horn, 414.

⁵⁷ O.R. XLV, 723.

⁵⁸ Love, 459.

⁵⁹ Sword, 375. McMorries, 90.

⁶⁰ Nevin, 139.

⁶¹ Love, 549.

⁶² O.R. XLV, 479.

⁶³ McMorries, 91.

⁶⁴ *Tennessee Veterans Questionnaires*, 1779.

⁶⁵ Archives. Letter from Evans to Lieutenant Joel Fife, Assistant Commander of Prisoners at Camp Douglas.

⁶⁶ Archives.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ O.R. XVL, 729.

⁶⁹ *Confederate Veteran*, 1918, 253.

⁷⁰ O.R. XVL, 724.

⁷¹ Archives.

⁷² Sword, 407.

⁷³ Sword, 407.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 406.

⁷⁵ O.R. XLV, 726.

⁷⁶ Garrett and Lightfoot, 102-103.

⁷⁷ Garrett and Lightfoot, 102-103.

⁷⁸ Sparkman. 81.

- ⁷⁹ O.R. XLV, 727. Worsham, 159.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid., 727.
- ⁸¹ O.R. XLV, 603. Ezra J. Warner, *The Campaigns of Lieut. Gen. N. B. Forrest*, (Morningside Bookshop, 1977), 649-651.
- ⁸² O.R. XLV, 603.
- ⁸³ Warner, 651. O.R. XLV, 741.
- ⁸⁴ O.R. XLV, 727. Walthall posted Featherston in a backup position.
- ⁸⁵ Worsham, 162.
- ⁸⁶ Sparkman, 82.
- ⁸⁷ Horn, 423.
- ⁸⁸ Ibid., 229. Horn, 423.
- ⁸⁹ Garrett and Lightfoot, 229
- ⁹⁰ Ibid., 229.
- ⁹¹ *Confederate Veteran*, 133.
- ⁹² O.R. XLVII, PT I, 1086.
- ⁹³ O.R. XLVII, PT I, 1086.
- ⁹⁴ Archives.
- ⁹⁵ Ibid.
- ⁹⁶ O.R. XLVII, PT I, 1104.
- ⁹⁷ O.R. XLVII, PT I, 1104
- ⁹⁸ Ibid., 1103-4. Love. 549.
- ⁹⁹ A. Underwood, *The Thirty-Third Mass. Infantry Regiment, 1862-1865*, (Boston), 284.
- ¹⁰⁰ O.R. XLVII, PT I, Hill's report.
- ¹⁰¹ O.R. XLVII, PT I, 826.
- ¹⁰² Ibid., 1103-4.
- ¹⁰³ Underwood, 285.
- ¹⁰⁴ Underwood, 284. John W. Storrs, *The Twentieth Connecticut, a Regimental History*, (Ansonia, Connecticut: Press of the Naugatuck Valley Sentinel, 1869), 164.
- ¹⁰⁵ O.R. XLVII, PT I, 826.

- ¹⁰⁶ Ibid., PT I, 1103-4.
- ¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 1103-4.
- ¹⁰⁸ Jay Luvaas, *The Battle of Bentonville*, (Smithfield NC: Medlin Printing Company, no date), 21-23.
- ¹⁰⁹ Johnston, 389.
- ¹¹⁰ Sparkman, 87.
- ¹¹¹ Archives. Will Polk was the son of Lucius Polk.
- ¹¹² *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, 283.
- ¹¹³ Sparkman, 88.
- ¹¹⁴ Ibid., 88.
- ¹¹⁵ Ibid., 88.
- ¹¹⁶ Sparkman, 88.
- ¹¹⁷ Ibid., 89.
- ¹¹⁸ Archives. Sparkman, 90.
- ¹¹⁹ Archives.
- ¹²⁰ Ibid.
- ¹²¹ Garrett and Lightfoot, 226.
- ¹²² Sparkman, 91-92
- ¹²³ Trousedale's pension records.
- ¹²⁴ Sparkman, 93.
- ¹²⁵ Garrett, 325.
- ¹²⁶ Sparkman, 94.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

Thirty winters almost have passed over our heads, and left their frosty impress there, age and experience have tempered our nature. Change is written all over our beloved Southland, but we believe as earnestly now as we did then that our cause was just.¹

Captain Joseph Love, *Maury County in the Civil War*

Comments on the Database

When this study was undertaken, there were only scattered, incomplete personnel rosters of the regiment. The database built for this thesis was the product of many man-hours from varied sources. Those sources include: five reels of microfilm from the National Archives, all the diaries cited, *The Tennessee Veterans Questionnaires*, *The Civil War in Maury County Tennessee*, *Soldiers and Patriots of Maury County*, *The History of Hickman County Tennessee*, *The History of Lawrence County Tennessee*, *Tennesseans in the Civil War*, *Goodspeed's History of Tennessee*, *The Official Records*, and an unpublished manuscript from the United Daughters of the Confederacy entitled *Confederate Veterans of Hickman County Tennessee and their Families*.

As an example the type of information available on the database the first three entries are shown below:

1. Abernathy, Harmon, Private, originally enlisted in the 54th Tennessee at Lawrence County, 11/30/61. Served in K Co. Nixon's 48th. Detached as a teamster 08/15/62. Last pay record, 11/30/63. Joined Nixon's cavalry.

2. Acklin, Claiborne P., Private/Sergeant, originally enlisted in the 54th Tennessee at Waynesboro, 12/11/61. Served in F Co. Nixon's 48th. Promoted to second sergeant 04/63. Listed on the Honor Roll for bravery at Chickamauga. Lost his bayonet scabbard on the move to Tunnel Hill, Georgia, charged \$2.57. Died 08/14/64, reason unknown.

3. Acklin, Thomas F., Private, originally enlisted in the 54th Tennessee at Waynesboro, 12/11/61. Served in F Co. Nixon's 48th. Deserted to Nixon's cavalry 12/01/64. Took the oath 01/28/65.

The database stands on its own as an important source of information for the 48th Tennessee Volunteer Infantry. Despite the numerous reference sources and careful attention to detail, there are probable errors in the database for the following reasons:

1. The National Archives microfilm records are incomplete.

These records are the best source for soldier information, but can be inaccurate. In the case of the 48th, Nixon's and Voorhies' records are mixed together. Nixon's regiment has extensive records and muster rolls up to the Atlanta campaign. Records for Voorhies' 48th, however, are sketchy after their reorganization in 1862 until the end of the war.

The great variety of name spelling caused some confusion in the first drafts of the database. At least fifty pairs of records were merged because the same soldier was listed twice (due to spelling and/or serving in both regiments). There are undoubtedly a few duplicates still left.

2. Classifying desertions is difficult. Only those soldiers who are listed as deserters by either Confederate or Union contemporary sources are shown on the database as a deserter. The Federals seemed to be consciences about distinguishing between deserters and captured soldiers. On the other hand, Confederate comments such as "deserted" on a muster roll could be misleading. There are some soldiers who disappeared while on furlough or were captured that uninformed officers listed as deserted. Those soldiers accounted for on Union records as "captured," are not listed in the database as deserters.

Another likely reason a soldier is carried in the database as a deserter was because he joined another regiment. This unauthorized transferring to another regiment occurred throughout the war, but in the 48th the problem greatly increased on two occasions: the first was after Colonel Nixon left his 48th and the regiment was attached to the 35th Tennessee. During that time, just after Chickamauga, probably half of those soldiers deserting Nixon's 48th joined Nixon's newly formed cavalry regiment. The second occasion was after the battle of Nashville. As a part of the rearguard, the 48th fought alongside Forrest's cavalry. It appears the cavalry was able to recruit some 48th men in December of 1864.

Last, there appear to be some soldiers who, after their capture, proclaimed to the Federal authorities they were deserters. Their motivation would be simply to gain better treatment and an early release. For example, while the battle raged at Nashville on 15 and 16 December, Union records show they captured forty-six Rebels from the 48th, while another six were listed as "deserted".² Those listed as deserted took the oath and were released within weeks. Those soldiers who refused the oath were sent on to brutal prison camps.

3. The number of wounded in the *Official Record* does not agree with the database wounded. There are only two battles where the number of wounded for the 48th are listed in the record, the first is Richmond and the second is Chickamauga. There is a significant discrepancy between the fifty-two percent casualties reported at Chickamauga in the *Official Record* and the twenty-five percent shown in the database.³ The *Official Record* figure is from Colonel Nixon, just after Chickamauga. The database figure is compiled from the numerous sources that support the database. The explanation for the discrepancy is that the database reflects only those soldiers severely wounded, while Nixon included all his wounded. In order for a soldier to appear as wounded in the

database it had to be recorded somewhere. One key record was the muster roll, which would be annotated with the reason for being absent. Severely wounded soldiers missing muster for this reason ("absent wounded") are listed as wounded in the database. Another way a wounded soldier would appear in the database was if a diarist commented on their wounds or if they were listed on Union or Confederate Hospital records. Local histories and veterans would mention only those soldiers who were hurt noticeably (i.e. "lost 3 fingers," or "leg shot off"). Apparently a large percentage of soldiers were only slightly wounded and returned to duty. Note, that the numbers for those soldiers listed as dead and killed on the database does seem accurate. Death is a lasting, significant event that would elicit a response in diaries, county histories, and the National Archives records.

4. The records of many soldiers who served in the 48th do not show the reason for the end of service and are listed on the database as "NFR" (No Further Record). The database lists almost 500 soldiers as NFR. The regiment's records either fell apart toward the end of the war or very few regimental records were preserved. Most soldiers listed as NFR simply stopped appearing in the record and there are no records of their surrender to Federal authorities.

Some soldiers, like James A. Hardy, are shown as on "detached service as a blacksmith" in August of 64, but there are no other records. Hardy probably served to the end of the war and then went home. William Hollandsworth must have been a fine soldier because he was present at every muster of Nixon's regiment until its consolidation with Voorhies. Unfortunately, muster rolls for Voorhies are unavailable and since Hollandsworth avoided any encounter with the Federals, his record ends in August of 1864.

Insights

Both regiments were strong assets to the Confederate Army, but were chronically under strength. Both units served in good brigades and outstanding divisions. Nixon's regiment stands out because of its service with Cleburne's brigade and division. There is no indication that either 48th regiment ever left the field except in an ordered withdrawal, even when adjacent regiments did run (and probably had good reason to do so).

The soldiers all hailed from similar backgrounds and locations. The counties they came from were solidly secessionist and the motivation to defend their way of life seems to have been very strong. A second and unexpected motivation clearly shown in the database is the effect of Federal imprisonment on the will to fight. Mistreatment in Northern prisons not only hardened the soldiers that survived, but hatred of the Federal's may have been a primary incentive for those who continued to fight long after the defeat of the Confederacy was apparent.

Death from illness was a problem that struck every Civil War regiment on both sides, but it was desertion that chronically hurt the performance of the 48th. The regiment's desertion rates were highest at the beginning and at the end of the war. The effects were evident at Bentonville, where only about sixteen 48th soldiers fought in the battle. Desertion was rampant throughout the Army of Tennessee. Walthall's entire division, for example numbered only around one-hundred soldiers.⁴ The problem however, was not limited to Tennessee troops or the Army of Tennessee: in April of 1865, of the 359,000 Confederate soldiers listed on the Confederate government's rolls, only 120,000 were available for duty.⁵

The Federal prison system hurt the 48th. Some of the 48th's soldiers were captured as many as three times: Fort Donelson, Port

Hudson, and Nashville. At least 116 of the 48th's troops ended the war in prison. Another 91 soldiers died in various prisons. A total of twenty-three joined the United States armed forces (most joined the Frontier Service, but three joined the Navy).

Significance of the Study to the War

The best lessons of the Civil War come not from the study of campaigns, but from the human dynamics of the soldiers who fought in the War. One important, but often overlooked, aspect of our Civil War record is the regimental history. The regiment is where the grand plans of the generals were executed and ultimately succeeded or failed. Study of the regiment puts us on the battlefield where we see the impact of leadership decisions on the life and death of soldiers. In war games, when a unit is destroyed, we simply remove it from the map; but at the regimental level, that destruction is real, as are the human dynamics that take place there. So significant are these regimental histories that most Northern states and some Southern states have produced an individual book for each regiment that served from that state.

Tennessee, despite her prominence in the war, is not among those states that have produced extensive regimental histories. Few Tennessee regiments have documented histories and almost none are recently written. Part of the difficulty in reconstructing the history of the 48th was that none of the Tennessee regiments brigaded with them have written histories of more than a few pages. For example, the 2nd Tennessee Infantry, one of Cleburne's fine regiments with battle honors from Bull Run to Bentonville, has no regimental history.⁶

This thesis contrasts significantly with the few Tennessee histories that do exist in that it was built mostly from primary sources (much of it unpublished and written at the time of the event.) Other histories were written by veterans some twenty to thirty years after the

war. The veterans, while good-intentioned, had a tendency to minimize negative aspects of the war. For example, Dr. W. J. Worsham's *The Old Nineteenth Tennessee Regiment, C.S.A.*, was written in 1902 and accounts for some 1,297 soldiers who served in the 19th. Not one soldier is accounted for as a deserter, though there are 70 "absent on furlough" and another 205 listed as "missing." The impact of desertions, a key indicator of morale, is missing from the veterans' histories.

Another unique aspect of this study is the database built to provide demographic information for the study. The database contains over 1,800 records, compiled and cross-checked from numerous sources. This not only provides extensive data, but is sometimes more accurate than government records or veterans' memories alone could provide.

Finally, the Civil War continues to provide valuable lessons in leadership and human dynamics to the modern military student. This thesis represents a previously unwritten history of an important regiment during the war. Though the 48th represents but a small part of the war, even its history can provide the student of military science with timeless observations. The real value of those observations are not those of the author, but the observations provided by the soldiers, who, like Sergeant John Sparkman, were there.

In closing, it has been my privilege to study the history of this fine regiment. The past ten months of digging through records, archives, histories, and diaries has been both personally and professionally rewarding. Working with so many primary sources and piecing them together into what is hopefully, a coherent picture has been like solving an important puzzle.

The soldiers of the 48th were exceptional people who suffered enormously for years, fighting for a cause they believed in. My greatest respect is for who died, ended the war in prison, and those who fought through to Nashville. I am in awe of those soldiers, like

Captain Love, who marched on to North Carolina to confront Sherman's army yet one more time. It is my ardent hope that if it were possible for the veterans of the regiment to see this thesis, they would judge it to be both fair and factual.

Endnotes

¹ Garrett and Lightfoot, 230.

² Archives.

³ OR, XXX, Part II, 185. Archives.

⁴ Connelly, 526.

⁵ Kenneth Radley, *Rebel Watchdog, the Confederate States Army Provost Guard*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 151.

⁶ Stewart Safkis, *Compendium of the Confederate Armies, Tennessee*, (New York: Facts on File, 1992), 93-94.

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